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Vol. XI

CONTENTS FOR JULY 1916

No. 3

Horace and Valerius Cato	By G. L. Hendrickson	249
A New Clue to the Emendation of Latin Texts	By W. M. Lindsay	270
The Lot Oracle at Delphi	By Frank Eggleston Robbins	278
The Cost of Living in Roman Egypt	By Louis C. West	293
On the Expulsion of Foreigners from Rome	By Richard Wellington Husband	315
Notes and Discussions		334

TENNEY FRANK: *Magnum Jovis Incrementum, Ciris 298, and Verg. Ec. iv. 49.*—GEORGE CONVERSE FISKE: *Udas ante Fores: Persius v. 185-88.*—PAUL SHOREY: *Note on Stobaeus Eclog. II, 104. 6 W.*—G. A. HARBER: *Was Arrian Governor of Syria?*—J. E. HARRT: *Aeschylus Supplices 518.*—E. T. M.: *Plautus Amph. 531 ff. and Simultaneous Action in Roman Comedy.*

Book Reviews

342

ELLIOTT: *The Acharnians of Aristophanes* (Peppler).—BOLL: *Aus der Offenbarung Johannis. Hellenistische Studien zum Weltbild der Apokalypse* (Case).—VENIERO: *Bibliotheca di Filologia Classica. Paolo Silenziario* (Shorey).—NOEVI: *Olympiodorus fra Alexandria og Hans Commentar til Platons Phaidon* (Shorey).—OWEN: *P. Ovidi Nasonis Tristia, Epistolae ex Ponto, Halieutica, Fragmenta* (Litchfield).—WALSTEIN: *Greek Sculpture and Modern Art* (Offner).—MEILLET: *Introduction à l'étude comparative des langues indo-européennes* (C. D. B.).—SHOWEMAN: *Ovid: Heroides and Amores* (Litchfield).—TYRRELL and FURBER: *The Correspondence of Cicero, Vol. III* (Frank).—BARBILLET: *De la phrase à versbe tirée dans l'ionien d'Hérodoite* (Laird).—ALEXANDER: *The Kings of Lydia and a Rearrangement of Some Fragments from Nicolaus of Damascus* (Laird).—RUSCH: *Grammatik der delphischen Inschriften* (Buck).—RABROW: *Antike Schriften über Seelenheilung und Seelenleitung auf ihre Quellen untersucht* (Heidel).—TEUFER: *Zur Geschichte der Frauenemanzipation im alten Rom* (eine Studie zu Livius 84. 1-8) (Botsford).—BALLOT: *The Manuscript Tradition of the Historia Augusta* (Clark).—PETER: *Historicorum Romanorum Reliquiae* (S. B. P.).—EGBERT: *Livy, Book XXI and Selections from Books XXII-XXX* (Lord).—RICHTER: *Das alte Rom* (Lord).—HELM: *Apulei Platonici Madurensis Apologia* (Siday).—LINDSAY: *Sexti Pompei Festi De Verborum Significatu* (Rolle).

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Classical Philology

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HORACE AND VALERIUS CATO¹

By G. L. HENDRICKSON

I

THE ORIGINAL OPENING OF *Serm.* i. 10

The eight lines prefixed to the tenth satire in a considerable number of Horatian manuscripts have been looked upon with suspicion from the beginning of modern criticism. They were condemned by Lambinus, passed over in silence, and not even printed, by Bentley, and since to these judgments was added Jacobs' detailed study² and rejection of them, it has become and remains an almost universally accepted conclusion of Horatian criticism that they are spurious. Occasional protests against this unanimity of judgment, and efforts to rehabilitate them as Horatian, have been made, but it must be confessed that these have failed to shake the steadfast verdict which three centuries of scholarship have passed. In fact, it may be said that the persuasion of their spuriousness has almost

¹ The study presented herewith is a continuation of some earlier investigations. To avoid needless repetitions I would refer especially to the paper entitled "Horace and Lucilius: A Study of Horace *Serm.* i. 10," *Studies in Honor of Gildersleeve* (Baltimore, 1902). In "Saturn—the Genesis of a Literary Form," *Class. Phil.*, VI (1911), 142, n. 2, I stated very briefly the position which I shall here defend. In my article on "The *De analogia* of Julius Caesar," *Class. Phil.*, I (1906), 104, I indicated a thesis, with regard to the influences which shaped the poetical style of Horace and Tibullus, which will form the subject of a sequel to the present paper, drawing for the history of style the larger conclusions derived from the details of this investigation.

² Friedrich Jacobs, *Vermischte Schriften* (1834), IV, 224–63.

ceased to be a reasoned judgment, and has passed over to an article of faith, which the student of our day accepts for the most part without inquiry. If, then, an attempt is made to reopen the question and to claim these lines as the original beginning of our satire—subsequently deleted by the poet himself—it must appeal first of all to the larger experience of modern scholarship in problems of text tradition like that which our satire presents, and to the growing conviction, arising from that experience, that, in the case of a text established so early and so securely, the assumption of deliberate interpolation is by no means the first and most probable of the possible alternatives.¹ A symptom of this feeling and a trend toward a less drastic treatment of the question are discernible in the now more widely accepted explanation of the verses as a fragment, drawn from some source contemporary with Horace, which has reached us through citation in an early commentary.

But no theory of text tradition, however well fortified with analogies drawn from the textual history of Juvenal or Terence or Ausonius, for example, can save our fragment if, as is the verdict, it lacks intrinsic evidence of authenticity. Nothing is more exasperating in the busy world of scholarship than proffered solutions of old problems which turn out to be nothing more than restatement. On the other hand, it is certain that one will not win the reader's benevolence by claiming novelty of treatment in so old a question.

¹ I refer especially to such studies as the first chapter of Leo's *Plautinische Forschungen*, and the same author's discussion of the text tradition of Juvenal, in *Hermes*, XLIV (1909), 600. It is not my purpose now to formulate a precise theory of the channels by which our fragment found its way into extant manuscripts. That would involve a larger study of the whole first book of *Sermones* than is here necessary. Let me indicate briefly, however, the most essential points. Satire 10 existed as a separate pamphlet before it was incorporated into the libellus of ca. 35 a.c. In date it was considerably earlier, and separated only by weeks or months, not by years, from i. 4. When it was made the epilogue of Book i the situation of Horace and his relations to contemporaries had considerably changed. This led to deletion and amplification (the list of names at the end). Some subsequent editor, such as Probus, for example, finding a copy of the original detached satire, preserved that portion which was not contained in the poet's edition of Book i, whether in a text with discritical marks, or in a commentary. That the scholia do not comment on them only shows that their authors recognized the true beginning of the poem; it need not mean that they were unknown to them. In the same way, Servius does not comment on the introductory four lines to the *Aeneid*. The fact of preservation I would attribute to that conscientious principle of conservation to which we owe the presence of different versions side by side in the text of the Greek tragedians, of Plautus, of Terence, or of Juvenal.

Indulgence therefore must be asked for the assurance that within the text itself, and apart from the problem of its *provenance* and preservation, there are two new considerations which seem to justify the reopening of a discussion so definitely closed. One rests upon the interpretation of the lines themselves, and consists in the disclosure of a relationship between them and the beginning of the poem as it was ultimately fixed by the poet himself. The second, less important but more striking, was the starting-point of my inquiry and the impelling cause for my re-examination of the whole question. It cannot be stated so briefly as the first, and demands a slight summary of an earlier study. In my paper entitled "Horace and Lucilius," I called attention to resemblances between the discussion of the wit and style appropriate to satire which our composition contains (vss. 7-15), and matter of a kindred nature which is found in the Greek treatises *περί κωμῳδίας*. To the matter derived from this source I should have added, obviously, the opening of the fourth satire, which reproduces in Latin version almost literally a characterization of Greek Old Comedy such as may still be read in the prolegomena to Aristophanes. None of this material is presented *per se*, but in its application to Lucilius, and I therefore drew the conclusion (which is not likely to be disputed) that Horace in our tenth satire was criticizing an estimate of Lucilius framed upon a characterization of Old Comedy or of some typical representative of it. It is obvious therefore that Horace's use of ideas and judgments drawn ultimately from the Greek treatises is contingent upon their presence in the discussions of his opponent or opponents.

In my earlier study I did not go beyond this point, nor did it occur to me to inquire into the immediate occasion for Horace's excursion into this field of literary criticism. But if one is not content with merely illustrating the general environment and source of the ideas which Horace combats, and insists on trying to see how or in what form his opponent presented the material, he will inevitably suspect that it was a Latin work, similar in character to the Greek treatises which our two satires reflect—in short, a treatise *de Lucilio*. A very sober, but fruitless, conclusion, doubtless; for here then, in the absence of other clues, we must come to a full stop. But what if the eight lines in question be the work of Horace? The path

would then open before us and we should recognize in the edition of Lucilius which they disclose (*emendare parat*) the very source which we had postulated by inference from the authentic text of Satires 4 and 10: not an isolated work *de Lucilio*, but the prolegomena to an edition. The unforeseen patness with which our doubtful fragment came to the rescue of a result arrived at independently, and almost named concretely the next step in the argument, was, I confess, a shock which made me look upon the question of authenticity with new eyes. It was not, of course, demonstration of genuineness out of hand, but it seemed to contribute a new element of probability which could not be ignored. The results, too, which would follow from the establishment of the authenticity of these lines would not consist merely in the solution of a problem of Horatian text criticism. For if, as authenticity would prove, Horace wrote with some part of Cato's recension (including of course the initial prolegomena) before him, this circumstance would furnish a specific background of motive and occasion in the literature of the time not only for the tenth satire but also for the fourth. It would put ground under our feet for the interpretation of the literary theory of both these satires, it would furnish definiteness of outline to the vague atmosphere of polemic and recrimination which runs through the tenth, and finally it would yield a guiding thread to some of the confused and obscure literary movements of the whole period of transition from Catullus to the early Augustan poets. But even if it should be impossible to prove that the lines are Horatian, nevertheless they afford a valuable clue to interpretation which has not been made use of. For in any case it is granted that they are well informed,¹ and either the grammarian who cited them from a source contemporaneous with Horace, or the later scholar who forged them, must have meant to define more closely the mark toward which Horace's words are directed: that is, if they be either citation or forgery the prime motive of their presence must be seen in the explanation afforded by the words *teste Catone . . . qui emendare parat*.

¹ Although the lines are rejected, Lucilian scholars employ them confidently as evidence for Cato's Lucilian studies, and Marx (*Prol.*, p. lii) assigns the edition of Cato to the same approximate date as Horace's first book, i.e., 35 B.C. His assumption is that the interpolator was cognisant of the date of Cato's edition and therefore knowingly framed the indications of contemporaneity (*parat*).

The controversy between Horace and the champions of Lucilius, represented by Cato and his pupils, may have had ramifications and elements of complexity in it which quite escape us, but the main outlines as revealed by our two satires are fairly obvious. Their reconstruction, however, is conjectural, and in endeavoring to sketch the situation I shall anticipate my effort of demonstration and use the doubtful eight lines as Horatian. Cato, it would seem, at a time slightly antedating Horace's fourth satire, had begun his edition with prolegomena *de Lucilio*. In this he had set forth the relation of Lucilius to Old Comedy, and praised both his wit and his style. Horace was not in the first instance provoked to any general or universal dissent from Cato's presentation. He borrowed from it the description of Old Comedy with which the fourth satire opens, and the affirmation of Lucilius' dependence on it. He allowed the praise of Lucilius' wit and keenness, deliberately making concession to Cato's presentation, it would seem, for the sake of recording more emphatically his dissent from the praise of Lucilius' style and versification—*durus componere versus; nam fuit hoc vitiosus*. From this utterance and the development of it into other personal allusions—*Crispinus*, *Fannius*—the exacerbation of tone which is discernible in the tenth took its rise.¹ Horace was answered, not probably by Cato himself (for we must recall that Horace was young and unknown, while Cato held a position of eminence and authority both as poet and as scholar), but by lesser figures from his circle, as is indicated in vs. 19, *Hermogenes* and *simius iste*. They defended Lucilius against Horace's criticism, repeating in polemical tone what Cato had already said in praise of the style of Lucilius, of the nature of satirical wit and its derivation from Old Comedy—of which as Horace says they were quite ignorant. This passage is important because it reveals very clearly that the dogma of Lucilius' relation to Old Comedy was not Horace's invention, but belonged to the opposing camp. It is this consideration which justifies us in assigning the beginning of i. 4 to Cato's prolegomena, where it obviously belongs. To these attacks Horace made reply with the tenth satire, which in its original form must have followed quickly upon the hostile

¹ There are other passages in the fourth satire which have, I suspect, their origin in material derived from Cato's prolegomena, but their discussion must be taken up in another connection.

reception accorded to the fourth. That Horace had not been attacked directly by Cato himself may be concluded from the fact that in our initial eight lines (the authenticity of which, for this hypothetical sketch of the situation, I am assuming) Horace does not approach him directly, but, through the conceit of addressing Lucilius, introduces Cato in the third person as his champion, and satirizes him indirectly:

Lucili, quam sis mendosus, teste Catone
defensore tuo, pervincam, qui male factos
emendare parat versus; hoc lenius ille,
quo melior vir *et* est longe subtilior illo
qui multum puer et loris et funibus udis
exoratus ut esset opem qui ferre poetis
antiquis posset contra fastidia nostra,
grammaticorum equitum doctissimus—ut redeam illuc:¹
nempe incomposito dixi pede, etc.

The abrupt beginning *Lucili quam sis*, etc., is genuinely Horatian, and in formal structure resembles *Epp.* i. 3, *Iule Flore quibus*, etc. The suggestion of an argument and demonstration may recall the debate to which Horace invites his *vilicus* in *Epp.* i. 14. In tone and spirit it is frivolous and without respect, since to challenge Lucilius mockingly as if living is to pay scant honor to the famous dead.² In conscious contrast to this frank brutality of criticism, Cato's procedure is called (though ironically) kindlier (*lenius*) and more in the spirit of a gentleman (*melior vir*) and scholar (*subtilior*). The point of contact with the fourth satire is *mendosus*, an echo and uncompromising resumption of *nam fuit hoc vitiosus*. Either word is technical in grammatical parlance for faults of Latinity or composition, though *mendosus* is probably more vigorous. The reason,

¹ I give the text as it is preserved in the MSS F X' (= φ, ψ, λ, and h), all of which according to Keller and Holder belong to the ninth or tenth century. The only certain corruption of the text is the omission of *et* in vs. 4. It is due to the unusual hyperbaton, which is, however, genuinely Horatian. Cf. *Serm.* i. 8. 30, and Luc. Müller *ad loc.* For the rhythm, *quo melior vir et est*, cf. *Serm.* i. 3. 63, *simplicior quis et est*, where a disturbance of the text is also found in some manuscripts. It is possible that *et* before *loris* should be changed to *est*. But the omission of *est* in a relative clause with a participle is paralleled by the Virgilian preface—*qui quondam modulatus avena*; see Luc. Müller *ad loc.* For the grammatical construction and punctuation see below, p. 257, note, and p. 260, note 1.

² On the general tone and quality of these lines see the remarks below, p. 263, and the estimate of Lehrs there cited, note 1.

however, for its choice here is somewhat different, and leads us to the first problem of interpretation which these lines present.

One of the principal grounds of suspicion of these lines, to the critics who have considered them, is the persuasion that "the promise *quam sis mendosus* is not fulfilled."¹ This omission is the less tolerable because the author says *pervincam*, "I will demonstrate triumphantly." But is it true that the promise is not fulfilled? In any large or genuine sense, most certainly it is not; but for the captious satire which is here intended the argument is flawless. For the whole of this opening is merely a sophistical conceit playing upon the words *emendare* and *mendosus*, and starts from Cato's profession of purpose, which was *emendare Lucilium* (to make a recension or edition, διόρθωσις). But *qui emendare profitetur* thereby on his own evidence (*teste Catone*) confesses that the object of his labor is *mendosus*. The demonstration is complete and admits of no cavil: hence *pervincam*.

That all of this is spun out of a verbal quibble on the meaning of *emendare* had perhaps some justification in Horace's day in the fact that the grammatical usage of the word, as the equivalent of the Greek διορθοῦν, διόρθωσις, was, if not absolutely novel, at all events technical, and restricted to a narrow audience. Many scholars have inferred from this passage that Cato's activity was an attempt to rewrite Lucilius in the taste and versification of his day. But apart from the a priori improbability of such a procedure for a grammarian versed in the conscientious methods of Alexandrine διόρθωσις, it would seem to me a clear inference from our passage that the author is playing sophistically upon a double meaning of the word. In this malicious distortion of the name of Cato's activity lies the humor of the conception.² To "emend" the text of an author

¹ Mustard (p. 5), in his serviceable but unfortunately inaccessible paper in *Colorado College Studies*, IV (1893), reviews the extensive literature which has accumulated about these verses. Cf. also the dissertation of M. Müller, *Num Hor. Sat. liber prior retractatus sit* (Jena, 1899)—good bibliographical material, but naïve and without judgment.

² Cic. *De or.* ii. 255 (*de risu*) has some remarks which elucidate Horace's witticism: "Hoc [genus praeter expectationem] tum est venustum, cum in altercationes arripitur ab adversario verbum et ex eo . . . in eum ipsum aliquid infligitur." As in our example, *emendare* is taken from Cato, and from it (*mendosus*) a means of attack is derived. He continues: "attendere et aucupari verba oportebit, in quo ut ea quae sunt frigidiora vitemus—est enim cavendum ne arcessitum dictum putetur—permulta

is, by eliminating the errors of record and tradition, to restore him to his original purity—*emendatus*; to “emend” in the ordinary moral or aesthetic sense is to postulate an original *mendosus*. To the technical usage of Cato our author applies the implications of the word in its ordinary sense.

It is clear that this demonstration, slight as it is, looks to work already in progress, and not to something which was merely known to be planned or contemplated for the future. *Parat* stands here in a kind of periphrastic usage to indicate emphatically an activity going on in the present—“is emending,” “is trying to emend.” This meaning is recognized by Marx, who suggests various equivalents, of which, however, *studet* is the only one applicable. The idiom is in fact very frequent in Latin, though I have been unable to find any comment upon it or collections of examples. One of the clearest illustrations is afforded by Ter. *Phor.* prol. 3, *maledictis detertere ne scribat parat*, which obviously refers to an activity going on in the present (and in the immediate past as well). The *maledicta* have already been uttered and continue to be (*qui ita dictitat*). A good illustration is afforded also by Hor. *Serm.* ii. 3. 13. Damasippus upbraids the poet for his sloth, which has gone on for some time and still continues. “What does your inability to write mean? Are you trying to placate hostility by neglecting your talent?”: *invidiam placare paras virtute relicta*? As an interpretation of his sloth it applies to the present, and, as the context shows, to the immediate past as well.¹ The point of this observation is to show that the edition or recension of Cato was not merely a plan entertained, but

tamen acute dicemus.” There follow then, as another division of the topic, examples of a *parva verbi immutatio*: *nobilior mobilior, adversus averseus*, etc., illustrative of *aucupari verba*. In Horace examples of this sort of trifling are not common—*ignoras ignosco* in i. 3. 22, the double sense of *mala carmina* in ii. 1. 83. But in Lucilius it was quite the fashion: 171, *edit comedit*, 320, *amptret redamptret*, 1136, *ludet eludet*, 185, *nolueris debueris*. For the sophistical argumentation (*pervincam*) based upon such word-play Lucilius affords a good example, 1285: *oculis equitare videmus: ergo oculis equitat* (see the whole fragment).

¹ Demonstrable examples of this usage, that is, examples in which the context reveals continued action in the present, or by some parallelism with other words shows definitely the periphrastic character of *parare*, are in the nature of things not easy to find. To those cited above I would add Cic. *Ad. Att.* 14. 21. 4, *sic hominem traducere ad optimates paro*: *ἄσπετος πολὺς*, “I am trying to bring him over, etc. . . . but it’s wasted pains.” The added Greek tag shows that the action has been continued from the immediate past into the present. An instructive parallelism is found in

was actually in progress, and that therefore at the writing of these lines the prolegomena as well as some portion of the text may be assumed to have been known in literary circles.

With *emendare parat* the sophistry of a demonstration with which the writer started is complete. To this then is appended in loose conversational manner (and without definite grammatical construction)¹ an ironical comment introduced by *hoc*, and extending through the remainder of the fragment. It contrasts the gentleness of Cato's criticism (*hoc lenius ille*) with the criticism of another (*illo*), whose identity will engage us presently. The praise of Cato's gentleness in the procedure, to be expected of his greater goodness (*melior*) and more finished scholarship (*subtilior*), is meant to contrast ironically with the completeness of his unconscious demonstration of the faultiness of Lucilius. One is reminded of a Lucilian fragment of literary criticism which the author may have had in mind (1025): *quanto blandior haec, tanto vehementius mordet*; for the point of the banter is to show that the more effective demonstration of Lucilius' faultiness had proceeded from a friend.

We now come to the main crux of the whole passage—*subtilior illo, qui multum puer*, etc. The phrase is obviously meant to be one of covert allusion, but, whether the work of Horace or of an interpolator, it certainly was not meant to be obscure beyond divining,

Hor. *Serm.* ii. 3. 271, between *laboret (reddere)* and (*insanire*) *paret*, both actions pertaining to the (universal) present. Wickham translates "than if he set himself to be mad," etc. Mackail uses the same phrase for translating Virg. *Ecl.* 2. 72. In Catullus 40. 4 the parallelism of *agit* and *parat excitare* is noteworthy. Ellis *ad loc.* makes the only comment on the usage that I have found anywhere. Juv. 8. 130 is the only example cited by Marx; it undoubtedly belongs in this class, but like very many others it is not objectively demonstrable. A more detailed study of this idiom would be of value.

¹ Phases of comment of this sort introduced by *hoc (haec)*, sometimes parenthetical, sometimes merely appended, are frequent. A simple example is afforded by *Epp.* i. 17. 19, *rectius hoc et splendidius multo*. Our example is of this type—*hoc lenius ille . . . grammaticorum equitum doctissimus*, but it is obscured by the long intercalation of four lines, *quo melior . . . fastidia nostra*. To punctuate with marks of parenthesis would help the eye, but it would do violence to the easy conversational drift of the lines, which ramble off first at the suggestion of *lenius* and again under the impulse of *subtilior*. Not until these promptings are exhausted does the poet return to cap *ille* with its satirical epithet. The objection to sharp punctuation, such as the marks of parenthesis, is that they seem to imply a foresight and definiteness of ultimate intention, which is not in harmony with the stylistic ethos. Similar passages of loose drifting amplification are, e.g., *Serm.* ii. 3. 308; the more definite parenthesis of i. 7. 10; the punctuation puzzle at the end of i. 1. See also p. 260, note 1.

either in itself or in the subsequent development of the composition. The affectation of mystifying reference in place of plain statement belongs to a pretty well-defined rhetorical category, as I shall show presently. We have then two critics of Lucilius: one at all events is Cato, the mild and good; the other presumably not so, that is, harsh and inconsiderate. Cato had not called Lucilius faulty; he had only unconsciously demonstrated him so (showing thereby his gentleness). Who then should be the other, less considerate critic, but the one who had said flatly *Lucili quam sis mendosus*, taking up and reiterating the affirmations of i. 4? Whether Horace or an interpolator wrote this, the text at all events distinguishes thus two critics, and before looking outside it is reasonable to ask whether that other (*illo*) is not the writer himself, who began with so brutal an assault upon the old poet. Cato's qualifications, he says with playful irony, are those of a better man and a better scholar; his own were acquired under the coaxing pedagogy of the lash applied in tender years. What but harshness should such a training yield? If we assume now for a moment that the writer—and the other critic therefore—is Horace, we have this added help toward identification, that the circumstances under which Horace served his apprenticeship to the older poetry are described by him later in life in words which are not without some echoes and reminiscences of this passage:

non equidem insector delendave carmina Livi
esse reor, memini quae plagosum mihi parvo
Orbilium dictare.—[*Epp.* ii. 1. 69.]¹

This identification, which we have derived thus far by inference from the text of the eight lines, becomes perfectly clear—in fact is specifically made—when we read our fragment in connection with the traditional opening of the satire. For the initial word *nempe*

¹ The resemblance of *plagosum* to *loris et funibus*, and of *mihi parvo* to *multum puer*, has of course been frequently noted, but with singular unanimity the wrong inference has been drawn from it. It should obviously have pointed to the identification of *illo qui multum puer* with *mihi parvo*, i.e., with Horace. The majority of scholars, however, seeking to identify *illo qui* with *Orbilium*, have changed (or accepted Reisig's change of) *exoratus* to *exhortatus*, and *puer* to *puerum*, and thus have obscured the reference of the whole passage. There is no occasion for touching the text as it has come down: *exoratus*, "coaxed by thong and lash," has a touch of ironical humor (wanting to *exhortatus*) which defends it in the whimsical banter of the context. (I should add that I find myself anticipated by Döderlein in this identification.)

stood here originally in order to point the precise application of the obscure reference to the critic and his criticism which was contained in the preceding lines.

It is the commonest function of *nempe* to introduce the precise application or meaning of something general or ambiguous, or otherwise insufficiently defined, which has preceded. The usage is surely familiar, though it is inadequately explained in most of the manuals, and in the citing of illustrations Hand, for example (Tursellinus s.v.), is constantly at fault in omitting the antecedent word or context which gives significance to the particle. In its simplest form the antecedent may be merely a pronoun (*ille* or *iste*), which is followed by *nempe* introducing the exact name. E.g., Ter. *Phor.* 305: Dem. conmostrarier *istum* volo. Get. *nempe* Phormionem? Or, again, Cicero *Brutus* 14: an mihi potuit, inquam esse gratior ulla salutatio . . . quam *illius libri* quo me hic adfatus quasi iacentem excitavit? tum ille: *nempe eum* dicis, inquit, quo iste, etc.¹ The example is simple and obvious, but its general resemblance to our text will be plain: *illius libri* . . . *nempe eum* ~ *illo qui* . . . *nempe dixi*. Ambiguous allusion has been made to another critic of Lucilius. It started with the appended or parenthetical words *hoc lenius ille*, and, through the mocking praise of

¹ The usage is frequent in Horace, e.g., *Serm.* ii. 3. 206, "prudens placavi sanguine divos. *nempe* tuo furiose," where *nempe* defines the intentionally generalized *sanguine* preceding. *Epp.* i. 16. 75, *adimam bona. nempe pecus, rem*, etc., where *nempe* specifies *bona*.

Of peculiar interest in this connection (since it is generally held to be an imitation of Horace) is the familiar opening of Persius' third satire, *nempe haec assidue*. If the words have been rightly interpreted, the commentaries do not record it, and without exception they have entirely missed the significance of *nempe*. The received explanation starts from *assidue* as equal to *continuo* or *semper*, and so Conington renders, "Is this always the order of the day then?" Similarly, Jahn, before him, and most recently Némethy. But *assidue* touches only one side of *semper*; it is not merely "constantly," but "faithfully," "zealously." It is the characteristic word for diligent application to study. So *assidue audire* of pupils in relation to teachers. Thus here, our young sluggard professes to be a student (vss. 10, 19), and has assured his friend or mentor (*unus ait comitum*) that he is working hard—*assidue versatus in studiis, in philosophia*. This is the presumptive background which the real fact (introduced by *nempe*) unmasks. Persius' opening places the reader at the moment of an unexpected visit from the aforesaid friend, and what does he find of all this vaunted assiduity? Zealous slumber, instead: *nempe haec assidue*. That is, *nempe* defines, or rather introduces the definition of, an implied *assidue* contained in the antecedent situation: "So this is what you are doing so diligently." The use of the particle belongs to the same general category as Horace's, but there is no other reason to speak of imitation.

Cato and the humorous portrayal of the unnamed critic's qualifications, it has extended to a considerable digression. At vs. 8 he returns to the banter begun with *hoc lenius ille* and completes it with a final shot of satirical praise for Cato, *grammaticorum equitum doctissimus*.¹ But these words, by reaching back over the relative clause intervening, have cut off the opportunity to proceed at once to the specification of the ambiguous allusion to the writer himself. He returns to it now with the formula *ut redeam illuc*² (where *illuc* resumes the covert reference) and then proceeds to the precise indication of that unnamed critic and of his criticism:

*nempe incomposito dixi pede currere versus
Lucili. quis tam Lucili fautor inepte
ut non hoc fateatur?*

Introduced by *nempe*, we have here the resolution of the obscure allusion contained in *illo qui*, which is made specific by *dixi*, while the vagueness of *mendosus* is resolved by *incomposito pede*, etc. But not only in these words does he take up the content of the preceding verses. Along with the masked allusion to himself he throws

¹ The general interpretation of this much-disputed phrase I have relegated to an excursus (p. 267). Here, however, it is pertinent to justify my punctuation and explanation, which carries it back over the intervening relative clause to *ille*, which it completes. There is no novelty in this suggestion, but it can, I think, be defended rather better than has usually been the case. The syntactical awkwardness or difficulty is of a kind which Horace has made for his readers not infrequently (cf. *Serm.* i. 7 *init.* and *Epp.* i. 15, and the examples collected by Kirchner on *Serm.* i. 6. 60; *Epp.* i. 19. 32, where the reference to Alcaeus or Archilochus is still disputed and was in antiquity). It arises from a loose conversationalism of tone, and may usually be condoned by the obviousness of the relationships intended. In this case it is clear that *qui . . . emendare parat*, with its continuative *ille*, should by every implication of the words be a *grammaticus*. Furthermore, just as *doctissimus* is a proper epithet within the grammatical guild, so is *subtilis*, and these obvious associations of linguistic sphere prevented any ambiguity of application, in spite of the intervening words. *Subtilior*, although it diverts the course of the language, already envisages its kindred *grammaticorum doctissimus*. It is scarcely necessary to illustrate *subtilis* in its application to the *grammaticus*, but let Pliny's single phrase *perversa grammaticorum subtilitas* (*N.H.* 35, § 13) stand *instar omnium*. See p. 257, note 1.

² Concerning *ut redeam illuc*, it is commonly held that it is a mere patch to fill out the line (whether of fragment or interpolation), and to make a rude joining with the true beginning *nempe*. But the necessity of a resumptive phrase I have already explained. *Illuc* (like *illo* above) is just the kind of an undefined demonstrative which craves more precise definition. E.g., Ter. *Phor.* 310 (in a literal sense, of direction), "recta via quidem *illuc*. *nempe ad Pamphilam*." The formula *redire illuc* (*huc, ad me*, etc.) is one of a considerable class of phrases of circumstantial transition which belong to Horace's early work. It is found only in *Serm.* i (1. 108; 6. 45; 7. 9).

off the mask of ironical banter, and passes from the special case of Cato to universals. *Catone defensore tuo* becomes any apologist, *quis tam Lucili fautor inepte*; the special case of Cato's unconscious confession (*non potest emendari nisi mendosus*) is rescued from a verbal quibble and turned into a universal judgment, *ut non hoc fateatur*. The purpose of my argument is not of course to contend that the initial eight lines are indispensable, but only to answer the frequent assertion that no satisfactory relation between them and the beginning of our satire (as finally published) exists. When the eight lines were deleted *nempe* lost, to be sure, something of its original preciseness of reference, but it still could serve to resume and define the offensive *vitiosus* of the fourth satire. This was the easier now that both compositions were gathered up into a libellus, and the author could assume on the part of his reader a knowledge of i. 4. But in the first instance, when the fourth and tenth satires were both isolated pamphlets, *mendosus* and the obscure allusion to the author himself served as an initial summary of the earlier stage of the controversy.

The general relation of the initial lines to the traditional opening of the composition is of a kind of which Horace makes frequent use in his satires and epistles. If the reader will put side by side the first two and one-half lines of each beginning, he will recognize the close parallelism between them to which I have already called attention. He will see that to impress Cato into service as a critic of Lucilius is a whimsical prelude, analogous to the use of an illustration preceding a direct and positive statement as in the opening of the epistle to Florus. The conceit of a playful and disguised allusion to himself, which the subsequent argument then discloses, is also Horatian. Of this general type is the description of the scurra Volanerius (in *Serm.* ii. 7. 15) whose steadfast vice Davus depicts, and praises in contrast with his master's instability:

quanto constantior idem
in vitiis, tanto levius miser ac prior illo
qui iam contento iam laxo fune laborat.

But this allusion the poet professes not to recognize:

non dices hodie quorsum haec tam putida tendant
furcifer? ad te, inquam. quo pacto, pessime?

and thereupon Davus goes on to express in direct terms (*laudas*, etc.) what he had before spoken obscurely. The language, it will be seen, has some noteworthy resemblances to our fragment, not only in the disguised description (*ac prior illo qui ~ longe subtilior illo qui*), but also in its resolution (*ad te, inquam . . . laudas ~ nempe . . . dixi*).¹

Let us pause for a moment to consider the situation. If these words are not Horace's they must be either the product of deliberate interpolation (which is the view most widely held) or else they are the work of some other satirist of Horace's time, who shared his point of view and whose words were preserved by some early commentator as a parallel to the opening verses. With regard to the first of these hypotheses, the assumption of interpolation, starting from the absence of the lines from the current text of later antiquity, has rested its case chiefly on the obscurity and purposelessness of the fragment itself. That charge I have endeavored to remove by showing its organic relation to the opening words of the satire. In the next place I would urge that the fragment bears none of the ordinary marks of interpolation. As a rule, the interpolator is recognized because he chooses the broad highway and concocts something of a general or universal character drawn from known facts and opinions, pertinent to the author whom he impersonates. Of this type are the lines prefaced to the *Aeneid*, *ille ego*, etc. But there is nothing

¹ Examples of this type of utterance—obscure or veiled allusions of the speaker to himself or to another—are frequent in Greek drama: *ὡς περὶ ἐρέπου λέγων αὐτὸν αἰσίνερα* is the comment of the scholiast on the famous example *Oed. Rez 449*, and it could be applied with slight modification to our passage. For estimating the Horatian quality of our example it may be worth while to call attention to one or two others. The opening of the letter to Florus tells the hypothetical case of the slave-dealer who sells his slave, with a warning to the purchaser of his one defect. The application of the story is left in obscurity down to line 20, where the poet applies it to himself: *dixi me pigrum*, etc. The comment of the *Ps. Acron.* scholia is interesting as showing the use of *nempe* in the resolution of such passages of obscure allusion—interrogative: *ut sit nempe dixi*, etc. Porphyrio comments: *per allegoriam . . . significat*, etc. *Allegoria* is the generic term for every form of oblique or enigmatic speech. To the *Auctor ad Herenn.* our example would be a case of "significatio . . . quae plus in suspitione relinquit quam positum est in oratione." See the illustration under the subdivision *per consequentiam* (4 [53]. 67). For the figure in the Greek scholia to tragedy, see Trendelenburg, *Gram. Graec. de arte tragica*, p. 139. Another related example in Horace is *Epp. i. 15 ad fin.* The picture of the scurra Maenius is drawn at some length, but the poet leaves in obscurity the purpose of his narrative. At line 44 he applies it to himself: *nimirum* [like *nempe*] *hic ego sum*. Examples are numerous in Latin comedy, e.g., Ter. *Phor.* 811; Plaut. *Men.* 649.

of the sort here; our interpolator has out-Horaced Horace. Instead of drawing universals from particulars he has reversed the process cunningly. Upon *quis tam Lucili fautor inepte*, with erudite knowledge of the time and relationships, he has constructed *Catone defensore tuo*; upon *ut non hoc fateatur* he has invented the conceit of Cato's unconscious confession (*emendandi mendosum*). Again, feeling (as a good Latinist should) that *nempe dixi* craved some antecedent reference to the speaker less direct and specific, he constructed the covert allusion *subtilior illo qui multum puer*, etc. For good measure he threw in *grammaticorum equitum doctissimus* to plague posterity, and when he had finished he must have enjoyed the sensation of having done a good job. But, alas! too good; for, having worked with the knowledge that it was the common fate of interpolations to be recognized and thrown out because they were general and commonplace, his spirit must grieve to find that his work is rejected because it is found too precise, too concrete, and too well informed. But seriously this is not the path of probability.

Not very different would be the assumption of a contemporary author. We should still confront the fact that the contents of the eight lines run absolutely parallel to the opening verses of Horace's satire, and bear a distinct relation to it. In short, when it is recognized (as I hope I have made clear) how the opening lines of the satire as usually accepted are the direct outgrowth of our fragment, there is only one conclusion left in probability, and that is to recognize that in origin they were one and continuous.

In deleting, Horace let go a clever piece of detailed personal satire, pungent and whimsical.¹ What he left as the beginning of his revised composition is by contrast colorless and vague. It is the generalized complement (*τὸ καθόλου*) to his preceding detail (*τὸ καθ' ἑκάστων*). And in this very circumstance we can divine a reason which impelled him to cancel his original opening, when in the calmer retrospect of a year or two he incorporated the satire

¹ Cf. Lehrs, *Q. Hor. Flaccus* (Leipzig, 1869), p. cxli: "Dass die ersten vor den ganz kenntlichen Anfang *nempe* gesetzten Verse sehr gut sind (ich meine nicht nur metrisch) das ist gewiss. Dass der Ton gröber ist als Horatius ihn je vor dem Publicum anstimmte . . . ist auch gewiss. Dass sie deshalb nicht von Horatius sein könnten folgt noch nicht." But apparently Lehrs does not venture to claim the verses as Horatian because of the belief (which was common before Holder's edition and is still repeated by Luc. Müller) that they are only preserved in late manuscripts.

into the first collection of his *Sermones*. For doubtless the main consideration was suppression of the name of Cato, both because the use of so prominent and honorable a name seemed a violation of that urbanity which Horace professed and of accepted standards of personal satire,¹ and because he no longer chose to do him the honor of mention.² Furthermore, the abrupt beginning with its conceit of a demonstration through the quibble *mendosum emendare* may have seemed to him trivial and frigid. For Horace does not often play with language and with verbal resemblances. It was undoubtedly to him one of those rusticities of a naïver literary taste (so much cultivated by Plautus, Lucilius, and even Ennius) which he learned early to avoid. But whatever we think of the opening jest, the ironical contrast of the critical procedure of Cato and himself is clever and in the best satirical vein.

¹ For all the study which has been devoted to Roman satire we still have need of an accurate survey of Roman practice and Roman feeling concerning personal satire and invective. Leo's remarks at the beginning of his "Varro und die Satire" (*Hermes*, XXIV [1889], 67) might have furnished the starting-point for such an investigation, but they seem to have found little echo in subsequent studies. (Knapp in *AJP*, XXXIII [1912], 134, n. 3, takes issue with Leo, but through strange inversion or misapprehension of Leo's meaning, his polemic only reaffirms the same position.) One general observation may be made, viz., that personal attack at Rome fluctuates from restraint to license according to the stability and order of the commonwealth. In Plautus and Terence, we have restraint; in Lucilius license. Again, there is a period of license at the end of the Republic and in the period of transition, but restraint with the establishment of Augustus' régime and under the emperors.

Three stages in the employment of true names in the history of Roman satire are briefly summarized by Martial in the preface to his first book. His epigrams, he says, are written "*Salva infimarum quoque personarum reverentia; quae adeo antiquis auctoribus defuit, ut nominibus non tantum veris abusi sint, sed magnis.*" Lucilius did not hesitate to name the great in his attacks; Horace uses true names but humble ones; Juvenal and Martial abstain from real names of living persons altogether.

² The gentle art of slaying one's enemies (or antipathies) by silence was certainly not unknown to Horace, and it may explain the puzzling absence of not a few names of contemporaries who might be expected to appear. But he practiced it silently (as, e.g., against Propertius, *Epp.* ii. 2. 100; perhaps also against Domitius Marsus, *Carm.* iv. 4. 20) and without avowal of purpose such as constitutes the pungent theme of two of Martial's epigrams (5. 60: "*certum est hanc tibi pernegare famam . . . nam te cur aliquis sciat fuisse?*" 12. 61: "*frons haec stigmate non meo notanda est*"). The familiar couplet of Ovid *ex Ponto* 4. 3 *init.* will be remembered in this connection:

nomine non utar, ne commendare querella,
quaeraturque tibi carmine fama meo.

This form of warfare is especially characteristic of groups or cliques conscious of some esoteric bond, like the neo-purists of Horace's day. The formidable proportions of this weapon of *Todtschweigen* in the annals of German polemics, and Bentley's famous *nolui hominem aeternitati tradere*, may be recalled in passing.

But let no one think that with the deletion of this opening of brusque and sprightly satire the composition was thereby reduced to restraint and sobriety. For although by this excision the satire lost something of its initial keenness of edge—not to say point—it still retained some of the most vigorous personal satire that remains in the *Sermones*. An echo of its effectiveness of fire can still be heard from the dialogue with Trebatius, to which our poem furnishes the principal background of circumstance and motive. But shorn as it is of the words which defined with precision the goal of attack, enough is left to testify to the warmth of temper in which it was originally composed. For throughout there are touches of vigorous and drastic language, sometimes verging on coarseness, which are at variance with the fundamentally gentle disposition of Horace, and with the avowed principles of i. 3 and 4. I refer not merely to the satirical mention of living persons—Hermogenes, Pantilius, Demetrius, Fannius—but to the use of offensive epithets of satire (especially physical ones, against the Aristotelian precept): *pulcher Hermogenes* (who is let go without epithet in i. 4); *simius iste*, *turgidus Alpinus* (perhaps unparalleled as a personal epithet); *Canusini bilinguis* (with double meaning); *ineptus Fannius* (touched only by innuendo in i. 4, *beatus* Fannius); *an tua demens, vel licet absentem Demetrius* (cf. *absentem qui rodit amicum* in i. 4). To these might be added such expressions as *sale defricuit, risu diducere rictum, vilibus in ludis, discipularum . . . plorare*—a sufficient array of examples to show that here, if anywhere in the writings of Horace, our fragment should feel at home.

I find it hard to understand what stylistic objection can be brought against these lines except that of their obscurity, which after all is not found to be so very great. When once they are understood I think that open-minded students must subscribe to the judgment of Peerlkamp (who did not claim them as Horatian): "*utut est, non abhorrent ab ingenio Horatiano et forma satirarum.*" The same extravagance of tone and vigor of language, which the examples just cited reveal, serve to explain the two or three peculiarities of usage which our fragment possesses. They form the principal concrete evidence which has been adduced to demonstrate non-Horatian origin. Of *mendosum emendare* I have spoken above.

It led, because of the completeness of the sophistical demonstration, to the employment of *pervincam*, which in a more literal meaning Horace employs from similar motives of emphasis in *Epp.* ii. 1. 200. *Longe* with the comparative is rejected by Wölflin as quite impossible for Horace, though he grants it in *Serm.* ii. 5. 73, *vincit longe prius*. This latter example is admissible because *prius* is an anomalous form, *longe subtilior* impossible because the comparative form is regular. But he allows Sallust at about the same time to use *longe saevior*. But this is statistics gone mad—or blind. The fact is obviously overlooked that in both Horatian examples *longe* is determined not by mechanical rule but by emotion, the desire to speak with emphasis and vigor, though in this case it be ironical. *Multo subtilior*, which Wölflin assures us Horace must have used, would be obviously much tamer. As I have noted above, *longe subtilior* is an anticipatory step toward the culminating irony—which demanded a superlative—of *grammaticorum equitum doctissimus*.¹ This phrase, the boldest and most extravagant of the whole composition, because it is bound up with considerations of the life of Valerius Cato, it has seemed worth while to discuss more at length in the appended excursus. Much criticism has been directed against *ille* and *illo* in close proximity referring to different persons. The occurrence of the two words at the end of successive verses may be an inelegance which Horace would later have avoided (and it might therefore have contributed to the deletion of the lines), but no criticism can arise from the difference of reference, which would not touch a multitude of other passages from every period of Latin usage.²

¹ The other early examples of *longe* with the comparative, which Wölflin cited, are likewise determined by a reaching out for more vigorous expression. See especially *Bel. Alex.* 46. 4 (where the emphasis is marked by the preceding *admiranda virtute*) and *Bel. Hisp.* 7. 6 (where note *et . . . et*). In this whole discussion Wölflin seems to have overlooked one of the principles of innovation, which in later work he did most to illustrate: the wearing out and weakening of familiar formulae (as *multo* in this case) and the search for novel and more effective means of expression.

² There is no obscurity in *ille . . . illo*, for *ille* obviously continues *qui . . . parat*, and *illo* is another. The designation of different persons by *ille* within the same sentence or context is extremely common in the comic poets, and examples are collected by Bach, in Studemund's *Studien*, II, 311. It was undoubtedly a colloquial habit throughout the whole history of Latin, and the encroachment of *ille* upon *is* gave to the Romance languages their regular pronoun of the third person. Horace does not furnish another parallel example, but it is hard to see how he could have expressed himself here more in accordance with Latin idiom. For after *qui . . . parat*, *ille*

EXCURSUS: GRAMMATICORUM EQUITUM DOCTISSIMUS

Among the Greeks at great centers like Alexandria, and in a lesser degree at Rome, the *grammaticus* might exercise his profession in the larger and more liberal sense of the word, as the "scientia eorum quae a poetis historicis oratoribusque dicuntur" (Varro); but for the most part he was condemned to earn his living by teaching privately the elements of Greek and Latin to boys and girls—*litteras doctrinamque puerilem*, as Cicero in one place (*De or.* iii. 38) renders the alien word *grammatica*. The poverty and wretchedness of the career were proverbial—"vos, turba Phari censu fraudata, magistri."¹ Nor did Cato, in spite of his distinction as a teacher and the eminence of his friends and pupils, fare better than the rest: "vixit . . . in summa pauperie et paene inopia" (Suet.). The generosity of no patron seems to have rescued him from the conditions which were common to his guild. But he bore his deprivations with philosophical fortitude, which (as his pupil Furius says) evoked wonder, "quibus ille disciplinis | tantam sit sapientiam assecutus" (Suet. *ibid.*)—a quality of goodness which may be reflected in Horace's ironical *quo melior vir et est*. That he was hot-tempered and polemical may be guessed from the same pupil's *en iecur Cratetis!* (*ibid.*), a characteristic which would perhaps explain the warmth with which Horace's strictures upon Lucilius in the fourth satire had been resented by Cato and his school. This same quality led him to reply to his enemies and critics in general, and especially to the imputation of servile origins, in a work entitled *Indignatio*, affirming "ingenuum se natum . . . et pupillum relictum, eoque facilius licentia Sullani temporis exutum patrimonio" (*ibid.*). That

is the idiomatic and only reasonable continuative pronoun; while after a comparative, *illo* is regularly employed, especially at the end of the verse. Cf. *Serm.* ii. 3. 311, *minus illo*; *Juv.* 7. 109, *acrior illo*; 4. 109, *saevior illo*; 5. 139, *dulcior illo*; 11. 61, *minor illo*. In our passage *isto* has been proposed and is read by Luc. Müller, but the correction has no more claim to consideration than many such which the older critics made in Plautus and Terence. See, e.g., Bentley, on *Ter. Phor.* 332, who is offended by "in *illis* fructus est, in *illis* opera luditur." Good examples from later usage are *Ovid Ars am.* i. 227, and *Quintilian* iii. 6. 93 (where Spalding proposed *hic* for the second *ille*).

¹ *Ovid Fasti* iii. 829. For the reading *Phari* (= *Alexandriae* or *Aegypti*) cf. Merkel *ad loc.* For other references see the passages collected by Becker-Göll, *Gallus*, II, 85, *Suetonius De gram. passim*, and the familiar line of Juvenal (7. 215) *quantum grammaticus meruit labor*. See also the epitaph in Dessau 8436.

he convinced or silenced his detractors is not likely. On the contrary, it is the nature of such replies to afford new material for satirical attack. Our perplexing phrase *grammaticorum equitum* might in fact yield the surmise that Cato claimed to have lost a patrimony in his youth, which would have entitled him to the *census equester*.¹ It is perhaps with malicious irony that Horace sets side by side the fact of Cato's real position and poverty (*grammaticus*) with his pretensions to social position and wealth (*equus*). The best possible commentary on the paradox which these words contain is furnished by Horace himself in this same satire at vs. 75:

an tua demens
vilibus in ludis dictari carmina malis?
non ego: nam satis est equitem mihi plaudere.

The humor of the phrase lies not only in the paradoxical juxtaposition of ideas, but also in an element of verbal parody. Cato is called, not *Romanorum equitum* (the metrical equivalence of which with our phrase underlies its satire), but *grammaticorum equitum doctissimus*. The *grammatici* are organized into a state with an aristocracy of their own. It is the same figure of humor that is employed in *Epp.* i. 19. 39:

non ego nobilium scriptorum auditor et ultor
grammaticas ambire tribus et pulpita dignor,

where Horace attributes to the *grammatici* the tribal organization of the city. But apart from the speculative element in this explana-

¹ The autobiographical apologia seems to have been a literary form much in vogue, especially among scholars and literary men of humble origin. It probably owed something both in form and in spirit to the example which Lucilius had set (Book xxvi). Defense of humble origin or refutation of the charge of servile birth was one topic which can still be detected, and furnishes us a clue to the character of this literature. Thus Cato in his *Indignatio* had affirmed *ingenuum se natum*. Saevidius Nicanor, besides his grammatical commentaries, was the author of a "*satyram* quoque in qua libertinum se esse indicat." The more accurate biographical detail concerning Orbilius (which includes the statement of his equestrian rank) is probably due to some such work, possibly to the "librum, cui est titulus *Περὶ ἀλγῆς*, continentem querelas de iniuriis," etc. (Suet. 9). The classical example of this type is Horace's sixth satire ("cum referre negas quali sit quisque parente | natus, dum ingenuus"). Cf. the writer's paper on "The Literary Form of Hor. *Serm.* i. 6," in *AJP*, XXIII (1902), 388. When Horace came before Maecenas he did not claim that he was sprung from an illustrious father; "non ego circum | me Satureiano vectari rura caballo, | sed quod eram narro." This and other similar observations may suggest the nature of the claims that were commonly made in works of this sort, and the hint that he might have represented himself as a knight (*Satureiano caballo?*) with large estates may cast some light on the satire contained in our phrase.

tion the general purpose and meaning of Horace's phrase is clear—to make mocking recognition of Cato's distinction in his profession. To call him a *grammaticus eques* accomplishes this, just as Juvenal (ix. 10) mocks at the distinction of gentility which the now wretched Naevolus once enjoyed in his low profession, calling him with similar phrase *vernam equitem*.¹ But real equestrian rank was as alien to one as to the other.

NEW HAVEN

¹ Lewis renders "genteel buffoon"; Weidner, "scurra elegantior." As applied to the creature of Juvenal's page the general aristocracy of the *equites* is sufficient motive; as applied to a *grammaticus subtilior* like Cato, critic and arbiter of things literary, there would come into play a further connotation of *equites*, as discriminating judges—in the first instance of the drama, and by natural extension of literature in general. Cf. *Serm.* i. 10. 75 (cited above), *Ars. Poet.* 248, *Epp.* ii. 1. 185–87.

A NEW CLUE TO THE EMENDATION OF LATIN TEXTS

By W. M. LINDSAY

Everyone knows that minuscule, even early minuscule Latin MSS written in Ireland or England, or at Continental monasteries where Irish or English script was practiced, are full of abbreviation-symbols, such as \bar{n} , "non," \bar{p} , "prae," $\bar{e}e$, "esse," $\bar{t}m$, "tantum," $\bar{t}n$, "tamen," \bar{c} , "contra," also that those written in other Continental scriptoria use abbreviation too, but not to the same extent. For example, of these half-dozen symbols only the first three would be current in Continental script of, let us say, the ninth century. And everyone believes that all ancient MSS (let us say of the fifth century) wrote words in full and eschewed abbreviation. It does not seem to play a part in Latin MSS until minuscule writing comes into vogue (in the eighth century).

Only one class of ancient MSS is recognized as an exception, namely legal MSS (before Justinian's famous edict). The fifth-century uncial codex of Gaius at Verona is crammed with abbreviation-symbols, such as \bar{n} , "non," \bar{p} , "prae," $\bar{e}e$, "esse," $\bar{q}d$, "quidem," $\bar{t}m$, "tamen," $\bar{q}a$, "quia," $\bar{e}t$, "etiam," $\bar{i}g$, "igitur," $\bar{q}u$, "quamvis." These are partly the same as the minuscule symbols, partly different. For example, $\bar{q}d$ would not denote "quidem" in a minuscule MS, but "quod."

The accepted theory of Latin abbreviation fails to account for the difference. It declares the eighth-century minuscule scribes to have revived these old symbols of fifth-century legal writing, symbols that had remained in abeyance for some two hundred years. But if this "resuscitation" theory be true, why should $\bar{q}d$, which in the fifth century denoted "quidem," denote "quod" in the eighth?

A new theory was broached in *Zentralbl. f. Bibliothekswesen*, XXIX, 56, that abbreviation had never really fallen into abeyance, but was practiced continuously in non-calligraphic script, developing and altering from one generation to another; that these symbols in the Verona Gaius were not really restricted to legal MSS and should not

be called "Notae Juris" but rather "ancient Notae." This "continuity" theory was confirmed by the discovery in Egypt of papyrus fragments containing speeches of Cicero written with these ancient Notae (\bar{n} , "non," \bar{e} e, "esse," \bar{q} d, "quidem," \bar{t} m, "tamen," \bar{t} b, "tibi," Ig, "igitur," and so on). A new avenue was opened for the emendation of texts. Till this discovery was made it had been thought that it was only editors of legal texts who had to reckon with the possibility of errors caused by abbreviation-symbols of the pre-minuscule period. The Cicero papyrus proved the contrary. Suppose it had fallen into the hands of ninth-century transcribers. They would have had no difficulty in interpreting rightly some of the symbols (such as \bar{n} , "non," \bar{e} e, "esse") which had remained in continuous use down to their own day. But they would have stumbled at others (such as \bar{t} b, "tibi," Ig, "igitur") which had gone out of fashion long before. And they would have been led into error by a few (such as \bar{q} d, "quidem," \bar{t} m, "tamen") whose meaning had changed in the interval (\bar{q} d now denoting "quod," not "quidem," and \bar{t} m, "tantum," not "tamen").

The plate which accompanies this article exhibits another example of an ancient (fifth- or sixth-century?) non-calligraphic MS which used these ancient Notae, a MS of the grammarian Marius Victorinus. The plate represents (in natural size) fol. 4^v of a MS in the Vatican Library, Pal. lat. 1753.

Not that the ancient MS itself is there. What we actually have is a transcript made at Lorsch not later than the first half of the ninth century. But the ancient exemplar is reflected in the transcript as in a mirror. The Lorsch transcribers have (more or less thoroughly) transferred the abbreviation-symbols bodily from the exemplar into their transcript, and so have enabled us almost to see the exemplar with our own eyes, without requiring the aid of imagination.

This precious relic of the ancient book-world we owe, not so much to the conscientiousness of the transcribers, as to the nature of the text they were transcribing. An early section (from which the plate is taken) deals with spelling. The several letters of the alphabet come under mention. A ninth-century transcriber would soon realize the impossibility of picking his way through the obstacles

offered by these letters on the one hand and the puzzlingly similar abbreviation-symbols on the other. Look at the sentence (a little below the middle of the page) on the spelling with C and with QU: "nam concussus QU a quatio habeat originem . . . at tamen per C quam per Q scribuntur" (Keil, *Gram. lat.*, VI, p. 13, ll. 21-23). How could an ignorant scribe distinguish QU, the abbreviation-symbol of "quamvis," from QU the letter-group? It is no wonder that, although he attempted to grapple with these symbols in the first page or two (misrendering the ancient "quod" symbol in p. 3, l. 9K., as "quia"), he soon gave up the struggle and resigned himself to making exact copies of them, as they stood in the exemplar, without troubling his head over their meaning. The exemplar seems to have been an uncial MS, for the symbol \overline{tm} ("tamen") in the sentence just quoted is written in uncial, not minuscule, letters. Anyone can see the difference between its *m* (uncial *m*) and the other *m*'s on the page. And the \overline{qu} ("quamvis") has uncial lettering too, although less easily recognized; for the minuscule on this page is fairly large and regular, not far removed from the half-uncial and uncial types. The transcription of the exemplar was divided among a number of monks. Some of them use much smaller and less regular script; and in their pages a transferred symbol in its uncial lettering stands out far more clearly from the context. Others again are less chary of interpreting the unfamiliar signs.

There is (or was) in the Valenciennes Library a MS copied directly from the Lorsch (now Vatican) MS. It was written in the St. Amand scriptorium, and a few of its readings are given in Keil's critical apparatus. One or two of the ancient Notae have actually survived into this "second remove" from the archetype, especially on the pages where they stood in clear contrast to the neighboring words. But on such pages as that represented in the plate the St. Amand scribe could hardly be expected to realize that he had to deal with anything else than ordinary Lorsch abbreviation, and must be forgiven for his attempts to interpret it.

More important is another ninth-century transcript (more probably mediate than immediate) from the ancient exemplar. It is a Paris MS, marked *B* in Keil's critical apparatus, while the Lorsch transcript is marked *A*. Where it was written is not known, but we

can guess that the scriptorium (Corbie?) was not so thoroughly under Insular (English or Irish) influences as the Lorsch scriptorium (where Anglo-Saxon script was still practiced at this time). For the ancient Nota of "quod," namely *q* with an oblique cross-stroke, would denote in Insular script "quia," but in (some) Continental scripts "qui." In the Paris MS we sometimes find the error "qui" whereas the Lorsch transcribers regularly write "quia," as often as they are not content to leave the symbol as they found it.

The text of Marius Victorinus, derived from a single archetype which was permeated with this fertile *causa erroris*—a partially obsolete system of abbreviation—is clearly a case where paleography can help textual criticism. Paleography has already provided a list of all known ancient Notae (see the Index to Studemund's apograph of the Verona Gaius, and my additions in *Mélanges Chatelain*) and a list of all symbols current¹ in (1) Insular, (2) Continental script of the eighth and ninth centuries (see my *Notae Latinae*). The Vatican MS, however, makes everything easy. It is the key to the gate between the (nearly) correct text of the ancient exemplar and the corrupt text of the Paris transcript. When we have collected all its symbols in uncial lettering we find ourselves provided with a passably full list of the ancient Notae employed by the writer of the exemplar. One or two more can be guessed with fair certainty from mistakes of the Paris or the Vatican MS or both. A rough list will be found on p. xiv ("Additions and Corrections") of my *Notae Latinae*. Here I will mention only the symbols most likely to mislead a ninth-century transcriber and will put them in capitals, omitting the abbreviation-stroke above (partly for convenience of printing, partly because ancient scribes often omitted it and contented themselves with a dot on each or one side of the symbol):

AT, "a(u)-t(em)." At the beginning of the ninth century this symbol was known only² at a few centers of English script. The

¹ Something still remains to be done. Separate lists of the symbols current at Lorsch, at St. Amand, and the other writing-centers would be very handy.

² I would now print on p. 13 of *Notae Latinae*, instead of "and also still shows itself," rather "Where it shows itself . . . it may come from an Anglo-Saxon exemplar or one with ancient Notae." In the sentence cited at the beginning of § 14 the Monte Cassino scribe (who found the symbol in his Fulda exemplar) probably meant *ater*, not *autem*: "Livy was singularly black and beardless"(!). The Fulda scribe may have meant the same.

ordinary transcriber would interpret it either as *ater* (for *t* with abbreviation-stroke above denoted "ter") or *aut* (for *u* was often expressed by a superscript stroke exactly like the abbreviation-stroke) or *at* (see below on the "etiam" symbol).

² (like a large "two" or a form of capital Q), "contra." Since \bar{q} denoted *quae* (in Insular script mainly) this would be the natural expansion of the strange symbol by a ninth-century transcriber; though he might, if the sense seemed to require it, substitute some other small word beginning with *q*. He would never dream of *contra*.

ET, "e-t(iam)." An Irish transcriber might interpret this symbol rightly; others would be likely to take it for *et* with an apex (or sign of long quantity, a sign often shaped exactly as the abbreviation-stroke) added above. This addition was not uncommon with monosyllables, even with short vowel, e.g., *an*.

I with oblique cross-stroke, "inter." Irish transcribers were quite familiar with the symbol. To others it might appear an unusual symbol of *in*, but would rather suggest an *i* which had been written in error and obliterated. They would be likely to omit it in their transcript. Among the ancient Notae were a number of symbols of this misleading shape, such as D (with transverse stroke) for any part of the verb *dico*, R (with the same) for any case of the noun *res*. To indicate the plural these symbols were doubled, DD, RR. They would be productive of omissions in transcripts.

QU, "q(uam)-v(is)." Absolutely unintelligible to ninth-century transcribers. They would interpret it as "qum," understanding the stroke above the *u* to be the *m*-stroke, and would put *cum* (the usual spelling of the word) in their transcript.

QS, "q(ua)-s(i)." An Irish (or Insular?) scribe (who expressed the word by "q̄si") might interpret this rightly. The scribe of the Paris MS seems to have fallen victim to the delusion that it meant *quibus*.

QA, "q(ui)-a." Absolutely unfamiliar in the ninth century, when it would suggest rather *qua* than *quam*. But a lucky guess at *quia* would not be impossible; for it has the form of a "contraction" (the final letter being part of the symbol), and most mediaeval symbols were "contractions" (as opposed to "suspensions").

QD, "q(ui)-d(em)." Would mean *quod* in the ninth century, except to Irish scribes, who had a symbol of their own for *quod*. Many English scribes used both the Irish sign and the other.

TM, "t(a)-m(en)." In the ninth century this was the Insular symbol of *tantum*. Continental scribes, if quite unaware of the Insular practice, might interpret it as *tum*, taking the abbreviation-stroke for a suprascript (conventional) *u*.

The list might be extended, but the purpose of this article is to stimulate rather than to carry out investigation. Provided with these nine examples alone, anyone who takes the trouble of reading through a few pages of Keil's text and critical apparatus will see how wonderfully this clue guides him through the labyrinth. Nine-tenths of the manuscripts' corrupt readings he finds to be misinterpretations of ancient Notae. The Paris MS reads with fatal consistency *at* for *autem*, *et* for *etiam*, *cum* for *quamvis*, and so on. And he can improve Keil's text on page after page: e.g., on p. 4, l. 5, add, not *eorum*, but *rerum* (RR with transverse stroke); on p. 5, l. 6, read not *quia* but *quod* (Keil's account of the reading of *A* is imperfect here); on p. 11, l. 16, not *sed et* but *sed etiam*, and so on. If all the ancient Notae of the exemplar had been interpreted rightly in the extant MSS the text would hardly require editing. There is only a single gate that shuts off the corrupt text from the true. And the Vatican MS is the key that opens the gate.

Will not some student of the American School at Rome take for his thesis an investigation of the Vatican MS and publish (1) a fuller list of its ancient Notae than my brief examination in the Easter holidays of last year allowed; (2) details of the corrupt readings due to misinterpretation of them? There must be other Latin authors (perhaps chiefly grammarians) the tradition of whose text has been like that of the text of Marius Victorinus, but for whom a key-codex, like the Vatican MS, is wanting. In editing them we are under the same difficulty as we should be if we had only Keil's *B*, not his *A*, to help us. These details would be useful sign-posts to guide an editor. A thesis by a former student of the school, Shipley, *Certain Sources of Corruption in Latin MSS* (Macmillan, New York, 1904), contains a study of another Vatican MS, Reg. lat. 762, and has proved of great value to editors. The MS was a Tours ninth-century

transcript of an uncial MS of Livy (the Codex Puteanus, now at Paris); and the booklet explains in detail the various errors to which the ninth-century transcribers of this fifth-century uncial exemplar (without ancient Notae) show themselves liable. We all realize nowadays the necessity of paleographical knowledge for Latin scholars. Textual emendation at haphazard is going out of fashion. It is true that discoveries in the Fayoum have here and there confirmed a conjecture which previously had no stronger claim than half-a-dozen rivals. But we may say of conjectural emendations what Cicero says of dreams: Out of so many, what wonder if one or two become true? Seeing that texts took their corruptions mainly from the hands of mediaeval scribes, common-sense tells an editor that his first duty is to acquaint himself with these obvious inlets of error. Most editors have neither time nor opportunity for a minute study of mediaeval paleography and must look for help to manuals like Shipley's. It shows us how errors crept into the transcription of uncial exemplars, especially of historical texts. The thesis now suggested would do the same for grammatical texts and perhaps others.

For we may fairly assume that technical treatises—on law, grammar, rhetoric, etc.—would be the most suitable for the non-calligraphic form of publication, in which economy of material was secured by a free use of ancient Notae. Of the wonderful collection of grammatical works amassed by Columban in the library of Bobbio at the beginning of the seventh century, many would in all probability be so written. They are often the archetypes of all existing MSS and have disappeared after being transcribed. A theological work, perhaps by Columban himself, a commentary on the Psalms, seems to have been written¹ with pre-minuscule Notae (see p. 70 of my *Early Irish Minuscule Script*, Parker, Oxford, 1910). And a St. Bertin transcript of Augustine's *Letters* appears to come from a similar exemplar (*ibid.*). Perhaps another grammatical instance is the exemplar of Berne 207. But a re-examination of this MS is necessary before one can be sure. Marx's paleographical account (hardly

¹ A copy made for private use would be likely to be non-calligraphic. The subscription at the end of the Marius Victorinus exemplar: "FELICITER UTERE STEPHANE SCRIPTOR ET LECTOR," suggests at first sight that Stephanus wrote it for his own use. But a comparison of the subscription at the end of Book II makes the suggestion less attractive.

[illegible]



satisfactory to paleographers) of the archetype of the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* (see the preface to his edition) suggests the possibility of a rhetorical example.¹ But here too re-examination of the evidence is necessary. Mommsen infers from certain corruptions of the text an exemplar of this kind for the Vegetius-portion (*Hermes*, I, 130) and the Prosper-portion (*Chronica Minora*, I, 371) of that uncial MS in the Vatican Library (Reg. lat. 2077) which contains the palimpsest Cicero *Verrines* fragments. The investigation proposed above will also improve both Keil's apparatus for the text and the text itself. And although Aphthonius' work on *Metre*, which has been incorporated with Victorinus' grammar (pp. 31 med.—173K.), is rather dull, the preceding pages are of great interest to students of the Latin language. They seem to be notes taken from Victorinus' lectures (see *American Journal of Philology* of this year). But the chief result of the investigation will be to provide a new clue to emendation, especially of grammatical texts.

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THE LOT ORACLE AT DELPHI

BY FRANK EGGLESTON ROBBINS

The inquiry¹ begins with a graceful painting on the inside surface of a fifth-century Attic cylix now in the museum at Berlin (Fig. 1).² Aegeus is seen in the very act of consulting the oracle about his childlessness, and is about to receive the obscure answer which, according to the story preserved by the Greek authors, puzzled him so much.³ The column which divides the scene shows that the consultation takes place within the sanctuary; Aegeus, at the right, awaits the answer of the prophetess seated to the left on a tripod, and the names of the two, Aegeus and Themis, are given above them. For the rest, Furtwängler's comment may be quoted: "Die Priesterin, durch deren Mund Apollon spricht, sitzt, genau so wie es die Pythia zur Zeit des Malers auch tat, auf dem Dreifuss, um göttliche Eingebung zu erhalten. Sie wird hier Themis (Θέμις) genannt, mit einem mythologisch nicht gerechtfertigten Namen. Denn unter Themis verstanden die Griechen eine Doppelgängerin der Erdgöttin, die ihrerseits einst allerdings auch in Delphi Sprüche erteilte, aber schon vor Apollon, sogar vor Phoebe, welche dieser ablöste. Dem schlanken, züchtigen Mädchen, das wir hier sehen, fehlt ja auch völlig die matronale Erscheinung welche sich vom Bild der Erdgöttin nicht trennen lässt. Aigeus konnte nur eine Pythia befragen. Dichterischer Sprachgebrauch, welcher Orakelsprüche mit *θέμιοι* bezeichnet, verführte wohl dazu, der Sprecherin Apollons den Namen Themis zu verleihen. Das Mädchen auf dem Prophetenstuhl sinnt in sich gekehrt, in der Rechten Apollons heiligen Lorbeer, in der

¹ The author wishes hereby to acknowledge the great help he has derived from his colleague, Professor Campbell Bonner of the University of Michigan. Many of the essential arguments of this paper are due to Professor Bonner's suggestion.

² Furtwängler-Reichhold, *Griechische Vasenmalerei*, Taf. 140; *Arch. Anzeiger* (1854), p. 427; Winter, *Jüngere attische Vasen*, p. 52; Gerhard, *Auserlesene Vasenbilder*, 4, pp. 103-4, Taf. 327-28; Müller-Wieseler, *Denkmäler der alten Kunst*, II, 947; Welcker, *Alte Denkmäler*, II, 237; Decharme, *Mythologie*, p. 107, Fig. 65; J. E. Harrison, *Themis*, p. 481.

³ Euripides *Medea* 678 ff.; Plutarch *Vit. Thes.* 3 ff.

Linken eine Schale, wie wir annehmen müssen, angefüllt mit dem Wasser der kastalischen Quelle, welches sie zum Weissagen begeistert. . . ."



FIG. 1

Furtwängler devotes most of his attention to the name given to the prophetess: does the painter intend her really to be the Themis, who, according to one account, took over the ancient oracle at Delphi from the earth-goddess Gaia, her mother, and in turn was succeeded by Apollo, or, according to another, receiving the oracle from Gaia turned it over to Phoebe, who in her turn gave it to Apollo;¹ or is she simply a priestess of Apollo, a Pythia, named Themis perhaps because the responses of the god were sometimes called *thémures*? Fortunately the present investigation does not require a definite solution

¹ Paus. x. 5. 6; Aesch. *Eum.* 1 ff.

of this difficulty; but at the same time Furtwängler's conclusions are not, to me at least, entirely satisfactory. It is, in the first place, a very striking coincidence that the painter should have chosen to assign to a mortal prophetess the name Themis, when the tradition that the goddess Themis once ruled the Delphic shrine was so well known; this is a *prima facie* improbability; and it may be doubted, furthermore, whether the purchaser of this vase would appreciate such a reason as Furtwängler gives for the assignment of the name. Nor is it agreed among archaeologists that Themis should be represented, as he says, by a matronly type;¹ and, with regard to the vase under discussion, other critics are content to believe that our Themis is really the goddess.² As for the undoubted fact that all the accessories of the scene are Delphic—the laurel,³ the tripod, and, we may add, the phialé—this need cause no great concern. The vase-painter has taken them from the Delphi he knew; if he tried to represent some more obscure form of consultation, his public would probably fail to understand the narrative he is trying to tell, and would certainly fail to locate the scene at Delphi; and, in fine, he is no archaeologist, but only an artisan of moderate education and attainments, and we may expect of him inconsistency and even inaccuracy. Surely to such a man it would be natural enough to show Themis, the predecessor of Apollo, in the surroundings of Apollo's priestess, and giving oracles in the already time-honored manner.⁴

¹ Welcker, *Alte Denkm.*, II, 325 (and Taf. XVI, 31), in his essay "Themis als Schlafprophetin," endeavors to show that the figure of a maiden sleeping in front of the Delphic tripod is Themis; the sleeping figure by no means agrees with Furtwängler's notion of the type. Themis as Justitia (see *s.v.*, *ap.* Daremberg-Saglio, *Dict.*, III, 1, p. 777, with the citation of Aulus Gellius xiv. 4) was represented as a maiden, the *Astraea virgo*.

² Welcker, *op. cit.*, 237: "Dass anachronistisch Themis anstatt des Apollons ihm wahrsagt schmeichelt in lockrer Weise der attischen Stammeseitelkeit"; also Decharme, *loc. cit.*; Miss Harrison, *op. cit.*, p. 480: "seated on it is not any one particular Pythia but Themis herself."

³ Of the laurel Miss Harrison, *loc. cit.*, remarks, "she is *thallophoros*." But the laurel must be indicative of Delphi as well as the other attributes.

⁴ It is to be noted that Euripides speaks of a tripod of Themis, to which Apollo has succeeded:

ἄδικος ἄδικα τὸν ἄρ' ἔλακεν ἔλακεν ἀπὸ—
φόνον δ' ἐπὶ τρίποδι Θέμιδος ἄρ' ἔδικασε
φόνον δ' Ἀοχίας ἐμᾶς μητέρος.

The passage is *Orestes* 162-65 (Murray's text) and is of later date than the vase-painting.

There is, then, after all no compelling reason for the adoption of Furtwängler's dictum that the girl is a priestess and no goddess. Welcker¹ on the contrary has well said that her anachronistic appearance here flatters the Attic pride of race. Certainly the scene, if shared by the father of the national hero, Theseus, and the ancient goddess Themis herself, is no commonplace one. But however we decide this point, it remains to consider the more important question of the girl's attitude and what she is doing with the objects which she holds in her hands, in the explanation of which Furtwängler's statements, I feel, are quite inadequate.

No one can, I think, doubt that Themis is on the point of uttering the answer for which Aegeus came; that is, the painter has shown no preliminary rite, but the most dramatic moment of the whole story, the actual delivery of the oracle. The laurel twig and the phialé, then, are, strictly speaking, out of place; for we read that the laurel was chewed, and the water of the sacred spring drunk, before the answer was returned, as a means of inspiration.² In fact, the drinking of water from some sacred spring seems to have been a preliminary rite at all the oracles of Apollo.³ The anachronism, however, by which the laurel and the phialé appear in the painting is a common one in the Greek vases; by this method the artist either epitomizes a whole narrative by inserting in the culminating scene, which alone is represented, details suggesting the previous steps, or simply indicates more definitely the place or the mythological story that is treated by the use of such objects in a purely symbolic manner.⁴ Now the laurel may be easily accounted for in this way, but the pose of the girl's figure absolutely forbids us to say the same of the phialé. She is too intent upon it or its contents for it to be merely symbolic of Delphi, and, furthermore, it is not enough to assert that she is about to drink the cup;⁵ this, the usual explanation, is entirely

¹ *Supra*, p. 280, n. 2.

² Laurel chewed: Lucian *Bis. acc.* 2; water drunk, Lucian *ibid.*, 1 and *Herm.* 60; Rohde, *Psyche* (2d ed.), II, 58, n. 1; Hermann, *Lehrbuch* (Heidelberg, 1858), II, 257, sec. 40, n. 12; Castalia or Cassotis: Bouché-Leclercq, *La divination dans l'antiquité*, II, 100, n. 3.

³ Fraser on Paus. ix. 2. 1.

⁴ Gardner, *Principles of Greek Art*, pp. 246, 279-80.

⁵ There is no indication that Themis received inspiration thus.

inadequate to account for her curious absorption as she looks at it. It is part of the painter's story which he has admirably told in the intentness of the prophetess; the cup is no mere symbol, but integral and essential to this very scene, and to find the key to the whole situation we must find out what the phialé was used for, what is in it, and why Themis so earnestly contemplates it, discarding at the outset the theory that it contained water from the sacred spring, which when drunk was to inspire her.

Perhaps the explanation that will most readily suggest itself is that Themis is reading the future in the surface of a liquid in the phialé. This would account very well for her intentness, and if the scene were not so plainly Delphic might perhaps be accepted without further question, for there is abundant evidence to show that the Greeks practiced lekanomancy or hydromancy in various forms.¹ But I have been unable to discover any proof, either literary² or artistic,³ that lekanomancy was ever employed at the oracular establishment at Delphi, and since it seems quite certain, both from the painting itself and from the literary version of the Aegeus legend, that the artist intended to locate this scene at Delphi, I am content to dismiss the suggestion that Themis is here shown in the rôle of lekanomancer.

There are, however, some scenes of ancient art which from their likeness in certain respects to the Themis vase deserve to be examined in connection with it. These include groups where Apollo and others hold a phialé and seem to be engaged in divinatory rites, and the same specious resemblance to lekanomancy is present in most of them. It is no easy task to sift out those which are pertinent from the great number which are wholly irrelevant; for in many parting scenes a girl proffers a phialé to a warrior or warriors, and often gods are represented with a phialé as a libation vessel or as an even more indefinite attribute. The only groups which will have

¹ See Daremberg-Saglio, art. "Divinatio"; Pauly, art. "Magia"; Bouché-Leclercq, *op. cit.*, I, 184 ff., 339-40; III, 354; W. R. Halliday, *Greek Divination*, chaps. vii, viii.

² Paus. vii. 21. 13 tells of a spring of Apollo at Kyaneai in Lycia where hydromantic oracles were delivered; but there is no such testimony as to Delphi.

³ Daremberg and Saglio give two illustrations of hydromantic acts, *Dict.*, II, 1, Figs. 2478 and 2481. Neither concerns Delphi.

significance for the present purpose are those where the phialé is something more than the mere parting or welcoming cup or the libation vessel, and I am inclined to think that it will be possible to work out an interpretation for them along with the Themis vase and on the same lines.

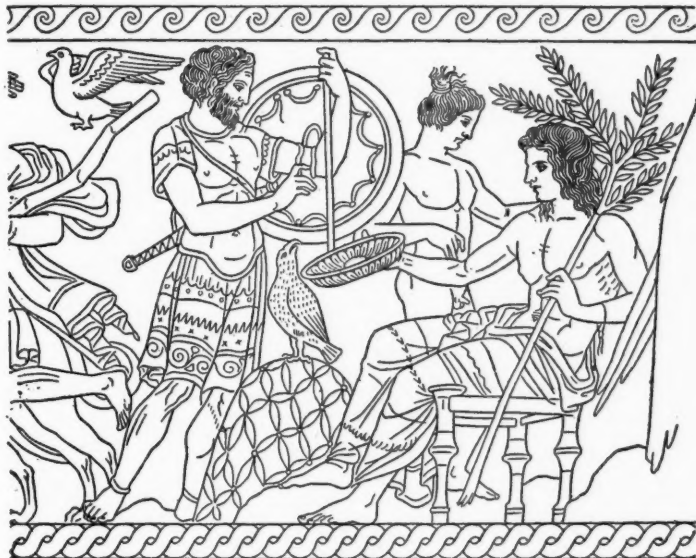


FIG. 2

Most striking among these is the scene engraved on a Praenestine cista of the Barberini collection, showing, according to the current interpretation, the consultation of Apollo by Oedipus at Delphi (Fig. 2).¹ Apollo, seated by the Delphic omphalos and holding the laurel branch in his left hand, extends toward Oedipus with his right a patera which tilts noticeably toward Oedipus. The latter regards the contents earnestly, and evinces plain surprise and even consternation at what he sees. It must certainly be said of this, as of the Themis vase, that in view of the attitude of Oedipus it is wrong to imagine that the cup is only a welcoming or parting bowl or

¹ *Mon. Ined.*, VIII, Pls. XXV-XXX; Daremberg-Saglio, I, art. "Apollo," Fig. 383.

one for pouring a libation. It is perfectly clear that the proffering of the cup and the surprise of Oedipus are essential features of the artist's narrative, and to assume that this is anything else than the actual delivery of the oracle is in the nature of an anticlimax. The contents of the patera, then, must be in a way the answer itself, and it remains to discover what they are. The angle at which the cup is held would certainly make it difficult to avoid an awkward spilling of any liquid contents, and I believe that therefore it is necessary to seek another explanation than lekanomancy for this engraving.

With this Apollo and with Themis is to be compared the figure of Apollo on a vase reproduced in various publications.¹ Here he is seated, but on a *βωμός*, and similarly holds the laurel and the phialé. Many interpretations have been given by scholars, of which the one most generally adopted is that it is connected with the legend that Apollo and Artemis visited the hyperborean region.² Others have suggested that it is to be linked with the Ion legend,³ or that it represents the visit of the Amazons to the temple of Apollo Patroüs after their defeat by Theseus; back of Apollo, according to this view, stand Hermes and Theseus.⁴ One critic, less explicit, says that it shows two young warriors, a Greek and a barbarian, who have come to the seat of Apollo to learn an oracle.⁵ If my surmise is correct, that Apollo with the attributes shown in this painting is essentially the prophesying god,⁶ this last view has at least so much that is true in it, although I am inclined to think that the figure in front of Apollo is Artemis and not a barbarian.⁷ Whatever the story illustrates, the scene is probably one of divination, that is, a consultation of Apollo, who himself presides over his own oracle.

¹ S. Reinach, *Peintures de vases antiques recueillies par Millin et Müllingen* (Paris, 1891), Millin I, 46; Müller-Wieseler, *op. cit.*, II, No. 142; Panofka, *Heilgötter*, Pl. I, 10; Lenormant et DeWitte, *Élite céramographique*, II, Pl. 88 A; Heydemann, *Pariser Antiken*, p. 38; Furtwängler, *Sammlung Saburoff*, I, Einleitung, Vasenbilder 14, No. 12.

² Overbeck, *Griechische Kunstmythologie*, "Apollon," III, 326, No. 43.

³ Furtwängler.

⁴ Lenormant and DeWitte.

⁵ Stephani, *Compte rendu de St.-P.* (1873), pp. 203, 211; cf. *ibid.*, 1861, Pl. IV.

⁶ Cf. the attributes of the god in the Praenestine cista, in the paintings that are immediately to be mentioned, and in *Arch. Zeit.* (1858), Taf. 120, 1.

⁷ Cf. the very similar group shown by De Ridder, *Vases peints de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, II, 320, No. 428, where Artemis is unmistakable.

Apollo appears in a somewhat similar pose, and with similar attributes, in a few other paintings which may be mentioned, although there is much less probability than in the ones just mentioned that divination is the subject. In one, he is seated on the tripod, in the position normally occupied by his priestess, holding with his right hand on the level of his eyes a phialé, and with his left a rod or scepter. The laurel grows by the side of the tripod, which is also flanked by two attendant women, one carrying an oenochoë.¹ The purpose of the phialé may be rather uncertain, but there is a strong possibility that it is no more than a libation vessel. Another vase, perhaps a forgery, shows the god sitting in a chair, his hand and arm resting on the back and holding a wreath; the extended right hand supports a bowl deeper than the usual phialé. Before him dances Cassandra with torches in either hand.² Another very striking scene, which strongly suggests lekanomancy, is engraved on an Etruscan mirror; but it has been interpreted with some degree of certainty as the rejuvenation of Aeson by Medea in the presence of Athena.³

These groups are all that I am at present able to compare with the Themis vase as divinatory scenes of a somewhat similar character. Since the hypothesis of lekanomancy has been dismissed for them all, for the reasons stated, the original question still remains to be answered, and it will be best to inquire whether there was any other form of divination practiced at the Delphic shrine, or connected in any way with the name of Apollo, by means of which a more satisfactory and better grounded explanation of these scenes may be presented.

I believe that they can be satisfactorily explained and the interpretations successfully defended on literary and historical grounds if it be assumed that this class of paintings and engravings has to do with kleromancy or thrioboly, that is, some form of divination by means of lots or dice. It is hardly necessary to repeat here all the abundant evidence that exists to prove the antiquity and the prevalence of such arts in Greece, or even what is known of the various forms of manipulation of the divinatory objects employed; but it

¹ Reinach, *Répertoire*, II, 286, 2.

² Reinach, *op. cit.*, 296, 2.

³ *Mon. Ined.*, XI, Pl. III; *Annali* (1879), pp. 38-53.

is enough for the scope of this inquiry to show that Apollo was known as a patron of kleromancy, that kleromantic divination was practiced at Delphi before the foundation of the later oracle and continued there in historical times, and that the divining counters used by the Delphic kleromancers were kept in a phialé.¹

There is in the first place a valuable bit of evidence to be drawn from linguistic sources, which applies both to the question of lot oracles in Greece generally and to the existence of one at Delphi. It has long been recognized that the term *ἀναιρέειν*, "to deliver an oracular response," the one most frequently used of the Pythia by prose writers, implies the use of lots, from which the priestess selects or "raises" the one that determines the answer; and it has also been suggested that *χρᾶσθαι*, *χρησμός*, "to give an oracle" and "an oracular response," ordinarily connoting "use" and "thing used" in their various allied forms, tend to show the same thing.²

Tradition, too, makes Apollo a very early patron of kleromancy, almost its inventor, in fact. His cult name Klaros is probably derived from *κλήρος*, "lot," and this with other facts points, as Hermann³ says, to the lot as a part of the oldest, essentially Ionian cult of Apollo. But the actual use of the lot is far better attested for Delphi than for Klaros; at the latter place the priest was inspired to prophecy by drinking from the sacred spring,⁴ whereas there is reason to believe that at Delphi the lot was used either as a primary or as a secondary means of divination throughout its history.⁵ The sacred lots at Delphi were known as *μαντικά ψῆφοι* or *θρία*;⁶ the latter word is not well understood, but may perhaps originally have meant "fig leaves," and may give a clue as to the earliest form of the oracle.⁷

¹ On kleromancy in general Halliday, *op. cit.*, chap. x, may be consulted. The author has collected most of the pertinent passages from the literature. J. G. Frazer's annotations to Paus. vii. 25. 10 set forth an important variety of kleromancy practiced in Greek temples in later times.

² Halliday, p. 211, with citations in n. 1; Farnell, IV, 191. Cf. too the use of *πρᾶν* with *χρησμός*.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 247, n. 15.

⁴ Iambl. *De myst.* iii. 11 (Parthey).

⁵ Cf. Bouché-Leclercq, I, 194.

⁶ Suidas, s.v. *θρία*, *θρία*; Hesychius, s.v. *θρία*, *θρίαζειν*; *Etym. Magn.* s.v. *θρία*, *θρία*; Bekker, *Anecd.*, I, 265, s.v. *θρίασιον πεδίον*; Philochorus fr. 196 ap. Zen. *Prov. cent.* v. 75; *schol.* in Callim. *Hymn. Ap.* 45.

⁷ *Etym. Magn.* *θρία*: *κυρίως τὰ τῆς συκῆς φύλλα· καὶ θρίαζειν τὸ φυλλολογεῖν*. Suidas s.v. *θρία* has a similar statement; and cf. Hesychius s.v. *θρίαζειν*. For another meaning (probably not original) see Lobeck, *Aglaophamus* 1345.

According to the legends these mantic lots derived their name from the Thriae, three nymphs, and popular etymology connected their name in turn with the numerals *τρεῖς* or *τρισαί*. The lexicographers and mythologists, together with the Homeric hymn to Hermes,¹ afford considerable information about them and Apollo's use of them. According to the lexicographers the three nymphs, daughters of Zeus, were the nurses of Apollo and dwelt on Parnassus; they discovered the three mantic counters and offered them to Athena; she, however, disclaimed them as a thing that did not belong to her (for this was in the province of Apollo) and threw them into the Thriasian Plain, which thus received its name. According to this form of the legend the Thriae were the originators of kleromancy, and they may be supposed to have taught it to their ward. Since Apollodorus, in relating the story of Apollo's cattle, represents Apollo as practicing kleromancy, we may infer that this was actually the case. Here Apollo is said to have learned "from his divining art" who stole the cattle; he exchanged the herd for the lyre of Hermes, and later, when Hermes made his flute, he bought this for the staff he had formerly used in tending his cattle, together with a lesson in divination by lot (*διὰ τῶν ψήφων*).

The Homeric hymn to Hermes (ll. 550 ff.) treats of this bargain:

ἄλλο δέ τοι ἐρέω, Μαιῆς ἐρικυδέος νιῖ
καὶ Διὸς αἰγυόχοιο
σεμναὶ γάρ τινές εἰσι κασίγνηται γεγαῖται,
πάρθενοι ὠκείησιν ἀγαλλόμεναι πτερύγεσσι
τρεῖς· κατὰ δὲ κρατὸς πεπαλαγμέναι ἄλφιστα λευκὰ
οἰκία ναιετάουσιν ὑπὸ πτυχὶ Παρνησοῖο,
μαντεῖης ἀπάνευθε διδάσκαλοι, ἣν ἐπὶ βοῦσι
παῖς ἔτ' ἔων μελέτῃσα· πατὴρ δ' ἐμὸς οὐκ ἀλέγιζεν.
ἐντεῦθεν δὴ ἔπειτα ποτῶμεναι ἄλλοτε ἄλλη
κηρία βόσκονται καὶ τε κραίνουσι ἕκαστα.
αἱ δ' ὅτε μὲν θυίωσιν ἐδιδυῖαι μέλι χλωρὸν
προφρονέως ἐθέλουσιν ἀληθείην ἀγορεύειν·
ἣν δ' ἀπονοσφισθῶσι θεῶν ἡδέϊαν ἐδωδὴν,
ψεύδονται δὴ ἔπειτα δι' ἀλλήλων δονέουσαι.
τάς τοι ἔπειτα δίδωμι, σὺ δ' ἀτρεκέως ἐρρεῖνων
σὴν αὐτοῦ φρένα τέρπε, καὶ εἰ βροτὸν ἄνδρα δαείης
πολλάκι σῆς ὁμφῆς ἐπακούσεται, αἱ κε τύχησι.

¹ The lexicographers as cited above; Apollodorus *Bibl.* iii. 114 f.; *Hom. Hymn. Herm.* 550 ff. See also Lobeck, *Aglaophamus* 814.

This passage gives rise to many questions which have no place here. It is evident that it has reference to a different set of traditions from those found in the other sources, and it may not, indeed, concern kleromancy at all, but rather a variety of augury from the flight of bees.

It has been said with regard to these legends that they show that the lot oracle was abandoned by the cult of Apollo as a lower and more fallacious form of divination. This it may well have been, and it is true that Hermes was regarded as the patron of dicers. But Hermes did not become the possessor of great kleromantic oracles, nor do the myths (though I would not press this argument) represent Apollo as formally abandoning the lot; he teaches its use to Hermes, and only in the Homeric hymn, which probably has no reference to kleromancy, gives up the instruments of augury. The most that can be inferred is that kleromancy became in the Apolline cult secondary to other modes of prediction, and there is strong testimony for the belief that it was still practiced in historical times at Delphi and was always given a place in the ritual of the shrine.

There is, for example, the story that the Thessalians sent to Delphi a number of beans inscribed with the names of persons,¹ with the request that the god should draw one of these and indicate to them who was to be their king. Hyginus too uses language of the Delphic oracle that fits only kleromancy, when he states that Thyestes came to Delphi *ad sortes tollendas* and of Telephus that he *petit sortem ab Apolline*,² although too much weight should hardly be given to the mere verbal expressions of a late Latin writer. The fact is better attested that the lot continued to be used at Delphi as a means for determining the order of consultation,³ and an obscure and corrupt passage of Plutarch refers to the use of the lot, apparently not in the actual delivery of the response, but in connection with some ritual observances.⁴ The best piece of evidence, however, and one that throws light upon the question under discussion, is the

¹ Plut. *De frat. amor.* 21. 492 A., Halliday, p. 211; Farnell, IV, 191.

² *Fab.* 88, 101.

³ Hermann, *op. cit.*, p. 253, and p. 258, n. 15.

⁴ *De ei ap. Delph.* 16: τῆς γὰρ ἐκτῆς τοῦ νέου μηνὸς ὅταν κατάγῃ εἰς τὴν Πυθίαν εἰς τι πρυτανεῖον, ὃ πρῶτος ὑμῶν γίνεται τῶν τριῶν κλήρων εἰς τὰ πέντε πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐκείνοις τὰ τρία οὐδὲ τὰ δύο βάλλοντες.

statement of Suidas preserved in his note on the word Πυθώ; ἐν ᾧ [the Delphic sanctuary] χαλκοῦς τρίπους ἴδρυται καὶ ὑπερθεῖν φιάλη ἣ τὰς μαντικὰς εἶχε ψήφους, αἵτινες ἐρομένων μὲν τῶν μαντευσόμενων ἤλλοντο καὶ ἡ Πυθία ἐμφορουμένη ἔλεγεν ἃ ἐξέφερον ὁ Ἀπόλλων.

So it seems certain that the counters were in existence in historic times and were kept in a phialé. Suidas' passage, however, gives rise to some further questions; for example, just what was the significance of the "jumping" of the counters? Farnell¹ speaks of this as being "in response to the questions of the consultants; and the functions of the Pythoness would seem to be entirely dispensed with in this process"; and in a note he says that Suidas seems to contaminate two distinct methods. He apparently understands that the two methods existed together, which may well have been the case. Bouché-Leclercq² too admits that Apollo's arrival at Delphi did not wholly exile kleromancy, which was certainly there in earliest times, but that it was used in conjunction with other methods, for example, to determine the order of consultation (a fact generally admitted) or to decide which of two meanings was to be adopted, in the case of an ambiguous oracle; perhaps, too, in cases resembling that of the Thessalians already mentioned. Undoubtedly, it is due to the conservatism of religion that this earlier and half-superseded form of divination retained through the centuries a place in the ritual, and that the mantic counters kept in the sacred place still showed by their "jumping"—managed we know not how—that the memory of their former importance must not fade out of the traditions of the shrine.

The painted and engraved scenes which have already been adduced show, I think, that the Greeks did in fact preserve the memory of the old lot oracle at Delphi, perhaps even that it did not lose its importance until a time much later than usually imagined, for artists seldom archaeologize.³ I suggest, therefore, that the

¹ *Op. cit.*, IV, 191.

² *Op. cit.*, I, 194. Halliday, pp. 211-12, suggests that "the consultation of the pebbles was a preliminary rite to discover whether Apollo would vouchsafe an answer."

³ There is evidence in Euripides, of uncertain value to be sure, that the Athenian of the fifth century turned as naturally to a kleromantic oracle as to any other, when necessity arose. I refer especially to *Hipp.* 1057 f.; ἡ δέλτος ἦδε, κλήρον οὐ δεδεγμένη, κατηγορεῖ σου πιστά, κτλ. κλήρον here is usually interpreted (e.g., by Wecklein, Paley, Mahaffy and Bury, and Murray in his translation) on the basis of

Themis vase, the Praenestine cista, and perhaps the other vase whereon Apollo appears are satisfactorily explained by the assumption, in each case, that the phialé is that mentioned by Suidas, the receptacle for the sacred divining counters. In the absence of information about the kind of lots used, and about the method of interpretation, it would be better perhaps to refrain from a fuller explanation of these scenes, and especially of the last-mentioned, the subject of which is so doubtful. But the Praenestine cista seems to show Apollo and Oedipus after the drawing has been made, and it is the result of the drawing which causes Oedipus so much surprise, while Themis is shown in a moment of deliberation just before "taking up" the lot.

It may be well at this point to consider an obvious objection to the explanation proposed for the Themis vase. Will this form of divination fit the story of Aegeus handed down in literature? The Euripidean version—which is substantially that of Plutarch—is found in the *Medea*, ll. 678–81. Aegeus has told Medea that he has returned from the ancient oracle of Phoebus—observe that in the literary form of the legend it is not Themis—and Medea has been informed that she may ask of him what the god said. Then follows (ll. 678 ff.):

MH. τί δῆτ' ἔχρησε; λέξον, εἰ θέμις κλίνειν.

AI. ἀσκοῦ με τὸν προύχοντα μὴ λῦσαι πόδα

MH. πρὶν ἂν τί δράσης ἢ τίν' ἐξίκη χθόνα;

AI. πρὶν ἂν πατρώαν αἰθὺς ἐστίαν μόλω.

The answer of the god was certainly cryptic and complicated; could it have been gained by the use of lots? I believe that this difficulty, the reality of which must be granted, can be met, and I shall outline a few reasons for such a belief. (1) It is possible—though I do not think it necessary to assume this—that the vase-painter has in mind a version of the legend of Aegeus entirely different from the literary

scholia on these lines and on *Phoen.* 838 ff. as referring to signs used by augurs to describe the flight of birds; but the scholia have only the doubtful (and hesitating) support of Eustathius, *In Il.*, p. 317, 52; and Weil in his note confidently explains the passage as referring to kleromancy. As to *Phoen.*, 838 ff., which has been interpreted on the same grounds as a reference to ornithoscopy alone, it is to be noted that Hermann (*op. cit.*, II, 248, n. 16) pronounces it a combination of ornithoscopy with kleromancy, with the excellent confirmation to be taken from Pindar *Pyth.* iv. 190. The scholia may easily be worthless, and most probably kleromancy enters into both Euripidean passages. Nothing, however, can be inferred from *Ion* 908.

one, and that in this version the oracle appeared in simpler form. We have already seen that in the introduction of Themis for Apollo he has violently disagreed with the better-known form of the story. But there is no further suggestion in ancient records of a different version from that known to Euripides, so that it will be well, if possible, to rest the defense of this interpretation on other grounds. (2) Although in its simplest form lot divination must have given for the most part simple "yes" and "no" answers, or have served to designate names and individuals out of a group, there were forms that could return answers of greater complexity; and although we know little of the form of the old Delphic oracle, it may well be that it too could on occasion return more than mere positive and negative responses. Indeed, it is reasonable to suppose that the priests at the shrine, who were of course experts in the science of kleromancy, would have at their command various forms to suit the different needs of consultants. As a bare suggestion it might be said that if the science of interpreting the veining of leaves, for example, as developed in ancient Delphi, there would be a possibility of great complexity in the responses. It has been seen that the name *θρίαυ* may well have meant originally "fig leaves," and there is evidence of the employment of very similar means of divination elsewhere, so that this suggestion, which, however, I do not care to insist upon, is not so unlikely as it may seem at first sight.¹ (3) It must be remembered that the form of the oracles as finally delivered to the consultant was the result of formulation of the original material derived from the god's mouthpiece. In later times it is well known that the priests of the temple interpreted and put into verse the unintelligible mutterings of the Pythia and that often their cunning led them to employ enigmatic or ambiguous terms. The form of the

¹ Professor Bonner has pointed out to me that there is a Japanese custom of divining by the interpretation of the cracks in a heated tortoise-shell. Omoplatoscopy in fact, a rite practiced by many races (and in certain forms by the classical nations; cf. Halliday's index), is of the nature suggested. Cf. Hastings, *Encycl. of Religion and Ethics*, IV, 789, 802 (for the Japanese custom). There is a record of divination by means of palm leaves, on which the names of the gods were to be written, in *Pap. Oxy.* 886 (Grenfell and Hunt, *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, VI, 200 f.; also in G. Milligan, *Selections from the Greek Papyri* [Cambridge, 1912], pp. 110 ff.). The South American Aymará Indians practice divination by means of coca leaves (reported, but with not much detail, by Adolph F. Bandelier, *The Islands of Titicaca and Koati*, Hispanic Society, New York, 1910, Part III, 126).

response to Aegeus as reported by Euripides, in fact, gives evidence in its cryptic wording of having been subjected to this very process. So too in the early days, or whenever kleromancy was used, the kleromantic oracles may have been delivered in verse based upon a much simpler original derived from the nature or the combination of the lots. (4) The best way out of the difficulty, however, is to point to the usage of vase-painters generally and to say that our artist did not in the first place attempt to *illustrate*, accurately and consistently, the Aegeus legend, and that in the second place he did not stop to analyze the whole matter as closely as we have done. The results of studies of the vase-paintings based on Homeric subjects have conclusively shown that the painter's object was not to illustrate, in the proper sense of the word. So here the artist has in the first place made so free with the legend as to introduce Themis—a gratifying mark of antiquity, doubtless—and then in keeping with his portrayal of the ancient goddess he has depicted a form of divination different from the one ordinarily employed in his time, but still in use at Delphi and bearing the reputation of the highest antiquity. And he did this without considering the difficulty it makes with regard to the form of the oracle traditionally received by Aegeus. But even this, the last remaining obstacle, might perhaps also be removed if we knew exactly what the Delphic oracular lots were, how they were interpreted, and how the answers were finally formulated, or, what is more to the point, with what sort of kleromancy the artist himself was familiar and which he had in mind when he depicted this scene.

I realize that the question here considered is of such a nature that one would be rash to call the conclusion that has been reached a solution and not a theory. But though these arguments may not amount to an exact demonstration, I would again point out, in closing, that the hypothesis here advocated has strong support from the side of sacred history, and that it affords a better explanation than has hitherto been advanced for the deep meditation of Themis and the dismayed surprise of Oedipus. Perhaps further investigation might show that other scenes in which Apollo holds the phialé are capable of similar interpretation; but this would have to be done with the greatest caution.

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

THE COST OF LIVING IN ROMAN EGYPT

BY LOUIS C. WEST

The material here presented has been gathered in a search after evidence relating to the exchange of commercial products between the different provinces of the Roman Empire, a work still uncompleted.

While having little, if any, direct connection with the larger problem, the facts gathered together in the accompanying tables are interesting and valuable, for they show clearly the conditions under which one part of the Empire lived and worked; they also show the nature of the objects which entered most largely into the internal trade of Egypt.

The lists of articles with their prices are in large part self-explanatory, and accordingly no attempt will be made here to do more than emphasize in a general way the main points of interest. This will be done by considering the material from two different points of view; in the first place by dividing it into chronological periods, so that the relationship of prices within each period and in comparison with other periods may be seen; in the second place by selecting some commodity other than money as the standard of value, and on this basis considering the relation of prices to the wages of labor. Finally, an attempt will be made to compare the prices in the papyri of the early fourth century with those in Diocletian's edict and to point out how far our opinion of that edict is affected by the comparison.

In the way of a thorough understanding of all the information offered by these prices there is at present one great difficulty: i.e., the impossibility of determining the exact value of the coins mentioned in the papyri. But despite this, many interesting facts are clear, and there is always the hope that new discoveries will lead to a more exact determination of the money values.

It is tempting to draw comparisons between the ancient Egyptian workman and our own American workman, but as such comparisons are usually misleading, none will be made here. A workman in this country earning \$2.00 per day when wheat is \$1.00 per bushel is

not five times better off than the ancient workman earning 20 cents a day when wheat was 50 cents a bushel. The difference in social standards and in climate compels our workman to spend more on his food, both in quality and quantity, on his clothing, on protection against the weather, on amusements, education, medicine, insurance. In fact it is probably not an exaggeration to say that the Egyptian fellah earning 20 cents a day at the present time can bring up a family with less worry and trouble than one of our own workman earning \$2.00 per day.

The most evident feature in any list of prices current during the Empire is the fall in the value of money, a movement that began early in the first century and that never ceased. It becomes noticeable first in the revolutionary period of the third century, when the fifty years of internal strife permanently disorganized the industrial and commercial life of the entire Empire. But great as was the decline in that period, it was nothing in comparison with the fall in the fourth century, when the old money terms lose all meaning, being partially displaced by the new coins of Constantine, and to a greater extent being replaced by barter. This is a phenomenon in no way peculiar to Egypt, but one general to the entire Empire.

In dealing with a people like the Egyptians, whether it be the Egyptians of today or of any older period, we are chiefly concerned with the subsidiary coinage rather than with the gold coinage. The small wages earned by the common laborer made his possession of a gold piece a matter of very rare occurrence. Just as today in Egypt business is transacted in terms of the piaster (a coin equivalent to five cents), so in ancient Egypt business was transacted in terms of the drachma or denarius. This fact becomes more important when we remember that the debasement of the subsidiary coinage was far greater than the debasement of the gold pieces. Thus the solidus of Constantine was worth five-ninths of the aureus of Julius Caesar, but the denarius of Constantine was worth only one four-hundred-and-twentieth part of the denarius of Julius Caesar.

Among the prices in our table which may be assigned to the period before Nero, there is one of great interest: the wage of $3\frac{1}{2}$, 4, and 6 asses paid to weavers in the time of Augustus. With this may be compared the wage of 12 asses paid in Rome to day laborers

in the time of Cicero, some fifty years earlier (see *Pro. Q. Rosc.* x. 28). As both these workmen were among the more poorly paid classes, we may say that the difference between $3\frac{1}{2}$ asses and 12 asses represents the relative difference of the cost of sustaining life in the two countries—a difference made necessary by the greater amount of clothing, of food, of protection against the weather, required in Italy. This difference is further increased by the fact that these Egyptian weavers were probably earning wages slightly higher than those paid ordinary laborers. The $3\frac{1}{2}$, 4, and 6 asses of the papyrus are equivalent to $5\frac{1}{4}$, 6, and 9 obols which may be compared with the 3, 4, and 5 obols paid farm laborers in the year 78/79 A.D., when money was worth roughly 5 per cent less than in the time of Augustus.

For the second period into which our material may be divided—that between Nero and Trajan—we have one extremely important document, i.e., the account book kept on a large estate at Hermopolis in the year 78/79 A.D. From the prices given there we find that a farm laborer would earn from 13 to $21\frac{1}{2}$ drachmae (91 to $150\frac{1}{2}$ obols) per month. This would enable him to buy $1\frac{1}{3}$ to 2 artabae of wheat; from 5 to 9 artabae of vegetables; from $\frac{3}{8}$ to 1 artaba of lentils. If we take prices found in other documents of the same period, we find this laborer would need approximately one year's earnings to purchase a donkey, or the entire earnings of $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 4 years' labor to purchase the eight-year-old slave girl mentioned in the table. With a superabundance of labor forced to work at such wages, it is easy to see why slave owning was not profitable in Egypt. As a matter of fact, the slaves mentioned in the papyri are, almost without exception, women kept as concubines or persons kept as domestic servants. Needless to say, neither class was ever owned by the ordinary fellah.

The prices in the document just mentioned (*P.B.M.*, 131) present an interesting problem. The wages paid farm laborers, 3 to 5 obols per day, are less than those paid weavers in the time of Augustus and also less than those paid farm laborers in the year 105 A.D. Both of these ratios are such as we should expect. In the case of wheat and other produce the ratios with prices at other periods are not what one would expect. For example, the price of wheat is actually higher than in the documents of the years 125, 149, and 183 A.D.,

while vegetables are higher than in the year 191/92 A.D. Both of these differences are greatly increased when we take into account the fall in the value of money by the end of the second century. There seems only one obvious explanation for these facts, and that is a deficiency in the Nile flood of the year 78 A.D. and a corresponding decrease in the amount of arable land and in the quantity of grain that was harvested. Under such conditions wages either remain constant or actually decrease, while prices of food supplies always advance.

In the period of approximately 35 years after the date of the document which has just been discussed (78/79 A.D.) we find wages of farm laborers have approximately doubled. In 105 A.D. wages were from 6 to 9 obols per day in place of the 3 to 5 paid in the earlier period. Eight years later, in 113 A.D., laborers on the canal banks at Hermopolis were paid 40 drachmae per month, or approximately 9 obols per day. Ox drivers were paid less than half this amount, but as far as I know, the reason for this difference is unknown. Despite the rise in wages, the price of wheat, judging from the one document of the period, is actually lower than in 78/79 A.D. This price, however, is in close agreement with prices in the years 149 and 183 A.D., and so is undoubtedly a normal one.

It is an interesting fact that in spite of a further fall in the value of money elsewhere, both wages and prices remained approximately the same until the end of the second century. For this period of seventy-five or eighty years, 8 or 9 obols per day was a fair wage and 8 drachmae (56 obols) per artaba a fair price for wheat. At this wage and price a workman could earn between $4\frac{1}{2}$ and 5 artabae per month, an extremely large sum, as will be shown later.

From documents of the middle of the second century we have much interesting material on the value of farm animals. It is clear that their value was so great that the purchase of one was nearly, if not altogether, impossible for the common laborer. Averaging the value of nine camels sold between 144 A.D. and 160 A.D., we find that they represented an investment of about nine months' labor. Compared with modern prices this is extremely interesting. An ordinary camel today is worth about \$75.00 and represents about seventeen months' labor at the usual wage (3 piasters, or 15 cents

per day). It is often said that the position of the common man was more favorable during the second century of our era than at any other period in Roman history. This seems to be borne out by the evidence of our tables. If we are justified in estimating the laborer's pay at about $4\frac{1}{2}$ artabae per month, we find him earning twice the amount the papyri show he earned in the first century or in the fourth and later centuries. Compared with conditions today, his lot was equally favorable. We have just seen that he could earn a camel in about one-half the time necessary today, while for every bushel of wheat earned today, he could earn a bushel and a half.

For the period between the death of Septimius Severus and the accession of Diocletian, we are singularly devoid of information on which to base inferences of value. At the earlier period the denarius seems to have had a value of about seven cents. In the edict of Diocletian the value of the denarius is stated to be about four-tenths of a cent, but as will be pointed out shortly, there seem to be reasons for believing this value is somewhat inflated. In terms of money, the wages of this period have increased greatly over those of the preceding century, but the increase was far from proportional to the decline in the value of money. In 215 A.D. we find a bricklayer's assistant earning 2 drachmae per day; an amount that is paid to an ordinary laborer in 258/59 A.D. Compared with the wage at 9 obols paid in the preceding century, this wage of 2 drachmae represents an increase of 5 obols per day or of 55 per cent. Wheat likewise advanced. In place of the 8 drachmae per artaba of the Antonine period we find prices of 16, 18, 19, 20 drachmae, representing an advance of 100 to 150 per cent, or two or three times the advance in wages. In other words, wages had been greatly decreased.

It is impossible to compare accurately the wages of labor as given in the edict of Diocletian with those paid in Egypt. Those of Diocletian are naturally much higher, as they seem to be based on conditions found in Eastern Europe and in Asia Minor, rather than along the Nile. If we take the wage paid unskilled labor—25 denarii per day and keep—we have a wage equivalent to $7\frac{1}{2}$ artabae of wheat per month, leaving the "keep" altogether out of the calculation. If we consider the amount of wheat in a contract of the year 605 A.D. in which a man agrees to work for two years at a total

wage of 19 artabae, as the least amount necessary to support life, and add this to the $7\frac{1}{2}$ artabae, we have a wage equivalent to $8\frac{1}{2}$ artabae per month. This is about four times the amount earned by contemporary labor in Egypt. It is interesting to recall that this ratio is in close accord with the ratio of the wages of $3\frac{1}{2}$ and 12 asses earned in Egypt and Italy respectively at the beginning of our era.

When we reach the period beyond Constantine, the old money terms almost cease to have any meaning. During the fourth century we find wheat selling at 26, 30, and 50 talents an artaba; barley at 25 and 30 talents an artaba; aracus at 1,800,000 denarii an artaba; dates at 15 talents an artaba; a pound of meat at 330,000 denarii; chickens at 5 talents apiece; eggs at 2,500 denarii each; two slaves at 2,400 talents; 1,800 pounds of straw at 144 talents; a cowhide at 75,000,000 denarii. Laborers' pay had risen to 200 talents a month. It is when we compare these values with those of the earlier centuries that we realize most forcibly the enormous depreciation of the currency. Thus the rise of wheat from 10 drachmae in 78/79 A.D. to 50 talents in 350 A.D. is equivalent to a fall in the value of the denarius from 1 to $\frac{1}{125000}$. This decline may be shown in another way: in 134 A.D. a cow was sold for 44 drachmae; in 360 A.D. a pound of meat was sold for 145,000 denarii. This means that for the price of a pound of meat at the middle of the fourth century, over 1,300 cattle could have been purchased at the middle of the second century. Other similar examples may be found in the tables; for example, the rise of an artaba of lentils from $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 800 drachmae in the period from 78/79 A.D. to the fourth century. New terms gradually took the place of the denarius and talent. Thus, in the literary sources we find wheat, wine, and other commodities sold at so many measures per solidus. For smaller transactions the follis was used, but these terms are comparatively rare in the papyri, neither of them, apparently, coming into general use in Egypt until shortly before the Arab conquest. In the papyri from the fourth century onward one new term, the myriad of denarii in place of the single denarius, comes into rather general use, but as in all other parts of the Empire the common people were coming more and more to disregard money and were exchanging their produce by

barter. One of our papyri is of particular interest as belonging to what may be called an intermediate stage between exchange by means of money and exchange by means of barter. In this document of the year 360 A.D. 40 artabae of aracus are said to equal in value 72,000,000 denarii or 500 pounds of meat. Here, it is safe to assume, the bargaining was conducted in terms of the produce, and the money value was written in the papyrus merely as a formality.

The uncertainty as to the value of money was responsible in part for the growing custom of paying wages and taxes in kind. For the collection of taxes there were two sets of officials, one for payments in kind, the other for payments in money. In the payment of wages in kind the government perhaps followed the lead of private employers. Two private documents mentioning such payments are quoted in the tables. Other documents combine payments in money and in produce, as does a contract of the year 569 A.D. Here a man binds himself to act as house servant at a yearly wage of 10 artabae of wheat, 4 artabae of barley, 12 xestae of oil, 24 cnidia of wine, and 95 talents of money. The careful enumeration of the articles of food and drink in this document makes it apparent that the money was the least important part of the transaction. In such contracts, entered into, as we may believe, chiefly from a desire to escape the crushing oppression of the tax collector, every advantage was on the side of the rich man. Having once entered into service, the employee lost his freedom of action, and to all intents and purposes he became the serf of the employer. From such contracts the great feudal estates in Egypt and in other parts of the Empire, in large part, took their rise.

If we attempt to draw from our tables any general conclusions as to the relation of wages and the prices of commodities, it is necessary, owing to our ignorance of the value of the coins, to use some standard other than money. Wheat is eminently suited for this purpose, both because there can be no great variation due to differences in quality, and, secondly, because it formed the chief item of food among the common people. If we consider, therefore, the papyri in which both the price of wheat and the wage of labor are mentioned, we are enabled to figure the amount of wheat earned per

month by the common laborer, and so obtain an effective basis for comparison. This information may be tabulated as follows:

78/79 A.D.....	2	artabae per month (<i>P.B.M.</i> , 131)
314 A.D.....	1½	artabae per month (Pap. Rainer, E, 2000)
Fourth century...	2¼	artabae per month (Pap. Rainer, AN, 295)
Fourth century...	2	artabae per month (Pap. Rainer, AN, 289)
Averaging....	2	artabae per month

This amount is in exact agreement with *P.B.M.*, 125, where 2 artabae of wheat are given as a month's wage. Although such an amount looks extremely small to us, it was sufficient to maintain the laborer and the non-productive part of his family, namely the children under five or six years of age. Under the Ptolemies an artaba of dura per month was considered a sufficient amount for the proper maintenance of a soldier (see Kenyon, *P.B.M.*, I, 168). This grain was slightly cheaper than wheat, but if we disregard the difference and consider one artaba of wheat per month as a bare living wage, we have a safe basis on which to compare earnings at other periods. Even at a wage of one artaba per month, there was undoubtedly a small surplus available for needs other than food. This is made evident by a contract of the year 605 A.D., already referred to, where a worker in purple agrees to serve two years at a total wage of 19 artabae of wheat—an amount that must have been sufficient to sustain life if nothing else. Even lower than this wage is that provided for in earlier contracts governing apprenticeships. Here we find that 4 or 5 drachmae per day were paid as the equivalent of a boy's food (see Oxyrhyn. Pap. 275 of 66 A.D. and Tebt. Pap. 385 of 117 A.D.). At the contemporary prices of wheat these amount approximately to ½ artaba per month.

If we average all the wages of unskilled labor and all the prices of wheat available for the first two centuries, we obtain an average wage of about 2⅔ artabae per month. Despite the elements of uncertainty which enter into such a calculation, the result is in rather close agreement with that shown in the preceding table. If, however, we take each value of wheat separately and compare it with the nearest available wage we obtain results widely at variance with those given above, but as we are altogether uncertain whether the local conditions which governed the price and the wage are identical or not, the result is not trustworthy.

Today in Egypt one gains the impression that the common people are working for the mere right to exist, their wages permitting nothing but the bare necessities of life. That conditions in Egypt under the Romans and probably in every other period were not different for the bulk of the population is clearly shown by the comparison of wages and prices that has just been made.

No attempt has been made here to estimate the earnings of skilled labor. So many things enter into the question of such wage, as for example, the degree of skill in a weaver or an acrobat, the reputation of a race-track manager, that it seems impossible to deduce any conclusions of value from our evidence.

In a general way, the articles in our list of prices may be divided into two classes: luxuries and necessities. We have just seen that the peasant could buy nothing but the necessities. In all probability, to judge from modern conditions, his buying power was limited to grain, a few vegetables, herbs for sauces and relishes, a little clothing, a covering under which to lie at night, and two or three coarse household pots. All other objects were for the richer classes.

In Table I an effort has been made to show the modern equivalents of certain coins at different dates in the period under consideration. It would be idle to claim that the figures represent anything but a rough approximation of the truth. There seems no more bewildering problem in the whole field of papyrus studies than the valuation of the money in use in Roman Egypt.

Diocletian in his edict tells us the number of denarii, 50,000, in a pound of gold, thus furnishing an exact valuation. In certain other reigns we are told the weight of the aureus or solidus, but even then we cannot be sure that the coin mentioned in the papyrus contains the legal weight of gold. Thus in *P.B.M.*, 483 of 616 A.D. the solidus there used was said to be one-twelfth below the proper weight. At one time three gold standards seem to have been in use in Egypt. In Oxyrhyn. Pap. 154 of the seventh century a sale of $482\frac{2}{3}$ artabae, 1 choenix of wheat was made for $48\frac{9}{32}$ solidi less 193 ceratia on the private standard, or for $36\frac{7}{32}$ solidi on the public standard, or for $36\frac{15}{32}$ solidi on the Alexandrine standard. One of the edicts of Justinian is directed against the Egyptian custom of making a distinction between pure and impure gold, but the document just quoted as well as others (i.e., *O.P.*, 126 of 572 A.D.) show it had little effect.

Even if we knew the weight of the gold coin we could not be sure of its relation to the subsidiary coinage, for the extent to which the smaller coins were debased makes it impossible to place any reliance on their legal or theoretical values. A comparison of the value of the denarius as given by Diocletian with its value in the next few years makes it possible that Diocletian's evaluation is not altogether trustworthy. A few years after the abdication of Diocletian, Constantine reformed the currency, making the solidus $\frac{1}{24}$ of a pound and the denarius $\frac{1}{480}$ of the solidus or $\frac{1}{1152}$ of a pound of gold. This is less than one-eighth the value of the denarius as given in the edict of Diocletian. Such a drop in the course of ten or eleven years is almost unthinkable. The effect of such a depreciation in Egypt where business was conducted largely in terms of the subsidiary coinage may be surmised from the relative depreciation of the gold and other coinage. Thus, the solidus of Constantine was worth about 16 per cent less than the corresponding gold coin of Diocletian, but the denarius of Constantine shows a decrease of 1200 per cent from the denarius of Diocletian as given in the edict. Great as are these decreases in the value of the coinage, the advances made in the price of commodities are even greater. According to Diocletian, wheat was to sell no higher than 100 denarii a modius; in 314 A.D. it was sold for 10,000 drachmae an artaba, an increase of 57 times. In the same way barley in 314 A.D. shows an increase of 95 times the price in 301 A.D. Wine sold in 301 A.D. for 8 denarii a sextarius; in 314 A.D. for 1,800 drachmae a cnidium or 360 drachmae a sextarius, an increase of 45 times. Lentils increased about 8 times, a Babylonian hide, 2,400 times, shoes 20 times. Differences such as these are difficult to explain if we regard the denarius in 301 A.D. as actually worth what Diocletian said it should be worth. All our facts, however, tempt us to believe that Diocletian in his efforts to systematize the value of money was endeavoring to give a totally fictitious value to the denarius. This hypothesis has been put forward by Bücher in a publication so far inaccessible to me. It is supported by the familiar quotation from Lactantius who says in reference to the edict: "then much blood was shed for the veriest trifles; men were afraid to offer anything for sale, and the scarcity became more excessive and grievous than ever." The only condition under which men ordinarily refuse to sell is when they are unable to obtain a fair

return for their produce. In 301 A.D., therefore, producers must have felt that in selling wheat at 100 denarii they were obtaining in return far less than they should.

On the other hand, it seems natural to assume that Constantine, in reforming the currency, gave the denarius a legal value approximating its true value at the time. From later edicts of the years 396 A.D. and 445 A.D. we learn that the government at those periods was unable to enforce a fictitious value of the denarius and in each year promulgated a new legal value in close agreement with the actual value of the coin.

That the subsidiary coinage which was, in reality, nothing but a fiat coinage, varied in value from day to day is self-evident from modern analogies. It is also supported by an interesting statement in a private letter of the late fourth century: "the solidus now stands at 2,020 myriads (of denarii); it has gone down" (see *O.P.*, 1223).

In conclusion, it should be stated that all references to the papyri of the Rainer Collection have been taken from various publications by Wessely. All other references have been verified.

TABLE I
ROUGHLY APPROXIMATE VALUES OF THE COINS MENTIONED IN THE TEXT

Date	Coin	Value	Remarks
J. Caesar	aureus	\$5.4335	
	denarius	0.2173	
Augustus	aureus	5.1765	
	denarius	0.2071	
Nero	aureus	4.9170	
	denarius	0.1975	
Trajan	denarius	0.1214	
S. Severus	denarius	0.0714	
M. Aurelius	denarius	0.0976	
Caracalla	aureus	4.348	
Gordian	denarius	0.0717	
Diocletian	aureus	3.6224	
	folles	0.0087	
	denarius	0.00435	
Constantine 312 A.D.	solidus	3.018	
	siliqua (orceratium)	0.12575	
	talent	0.02515	
	folles	0.01214	of 323 A.D.
	nummus	0.01049	
	denarius	0.000503	
Middle fourth century	talent	0.00688	
End fourth century	folles	0.01238	
	myriad of denarii	0.001494	cf. O.P. 1223
	denarius	0.000443	
445 A.D.	folles	0.013566	
	denarius	0.000419	
Sixth century	folles	0.01428	early Justinian
	"	0.014994	in 538 A.D.
	"	0.01666	in 558 A.D.
	denarius	0.000345	early in century
Sixth to seventh century	myriad of denarii	0.000483	

TABLE II
A. WAGES OF WORKMEN

Date	Employment	Term	Wage	Authority
1 A.D.	weaver	per day	3½ asses	O.P. 737
" "	hired man ¹	" "	4 asses	O.P. 737
" "	foremen of weavers	" "	6 asses	O.P. 737
8/9 A.D.	performer or artist ²	" "	1 dr., 4½ ob.	O.P. 731
78/79 A.D.	farm laborers ³	" "	3-5 ob.	P.B.M. 131
" "	donkey boys	" "	2½ ob.	P.B.M. 131
92 A.D.	guard	per month	40 dr.	P.B.M. 701
First century	guard	per day	1 dr., 5 ob.	O.P. 390
" "	laborers	" "	4 ob.	O.P. 985
105 A.D.	laborers, men ⁴	" "	6 ob.	Fayum Towns 102
" "	" , young men	" "	5 ob.	Fayum Towns 102
" "	laborers, boys	" "	1-4 ob.	Fayum Towns 102
" "	men for γόμει and δρᾶματα	" "	7-8 ob.	Fayum Towns 102
113 A.D.	contractor in charge of water works	per month	40 dr.	P.B.M. 1177
" "	laborers on water works ⁵	" "	40 dr.	P.B.M. 1177
" "	contractor for ox drivers	" "	32 dr.	P.B.M. 1177
" "	ox drivers	" "	16 dr.	P.B.M. 1177
125 A.D.	laborers	per day	9 ob.	Fayum Towns 331
143 A.D.	"	" "	8 ob.	B.G.U. 99
154 A.D.	"	" "	8 ob.	B.G.U. 391
160 A.D.	"	" "	8 ob.	P.B.M. 296
162 A.D.	"	" "	8 ob.	B.G.U. 704
165 A.D.	contractor with three camel drivers and four boys to carry grain	" "	40 dr.	P.B.M. 331
168 A.D.	laborers	" "	8 ob.	P.B.M. 337
172 A.D.	bricklayer ⁶	per 10,000 bricks	40 dr.	Tebt. Pap. 402
178/9 A.D.	laborers	per day	8 ob.	B.G.U. 359
183 A.D.	wages of weaver's apprentice. ⁷ Nothing for 2 yrs. 7 mos., then rest of third year	per month	12 dr.	O.P. 725
	fourth "	" "	16 dr.	
	fifth "	" "	24 dr.	

¹ This is the rather unsatisfactory translation of the *conductei* of the papyrus.

² This performer contracted to serve 30 days at 1 dr., 2 ob. per day, plus a bakshish, or tip, of 13 dr., 2 ob., on the completion of his contract.

³ In a Pompeian inscription (*C.I.L.*, 4, 4,000), the sum of 5 asses is allowed for *diaria*.

⁴ Frontinus *De Aq.* 116 gives the sum of 250,000 sesterces as that paid to a familia of 240 slaves engaged on the aqueducts. The sum includes both the maintenance of the slaves and the cost of the supplies needed in their work. We may perhaps estimate the wage alone as 2 or 3 sesterces per man per day.

⁵ Why the laborer should in this instance be paid as much as his foreman is not clear to me.

⁶ In Tebt. Pap. 402 of 172 A.D. the laying of 2,200 bricks is shown to be a fair day's work. At the rate of 40 drachmae for 10,000 this amounts to a wage of 8½ drachmae per day. It is unfortunate that the number of men necessary to lay 2,200 bricks is unknown.

⁷ In addition to these payments, the teacher was to give the boy a tunic each year costing 16, 20, 24, 28, 32 drachmae respectively.

TABLE II—Continued

Date	Employment	Term	Wage	Authority
187 A.D.	nurse	for 2 years	400 dr.	O.P. 91
190/1 A.D.	sitologos	per year	400 dr.	O.P. 514
Second century	stevedores ¹	per day	1 dr., 3 ob.	O.P. 522
"	"	"	4 ob.	O.P. 522
"	stone cutter with keep	"	4 dr.	O.P. 498
"	donkey driver	"	1 dr., 5 ob.	O.P. 1049
"	"	"	2 dr., 4 ob.	O.P. 1049
"	workman tying bundles	"	1 dr., 5 ob.	O.P. 1049
215 A.D.	bricklayer	"	2½ dr.	B.G.U. 362
"	assistant	"	2 dr.	B.G.U. 362
255 A.D.	laborers	"	6-9 dr.	B.G.U. 14
258/59 A.D.	manual laborer	"	2 dr.	P.B.M. 1170
301 A.D.	with keep	"	25 denar.	Edict. Dioclet. 7.1
"	bricklayer	"	50 denar.	Edict. Dioclet. 7.2
"	stone mason	"	50 denar.	Edict. Dioclet. 7.7
314 A.D.	laborers	"	400 dr.	Pap. Rainer E 2000
"	"	"	500 dr.	Pap. Rainer E 2000
"	"	"	650 dr.	Pap. Rainer E 2000
340 A.D.	"	per month	12 tal.	B.G.U. 21
"	"	"	15 tal.	B.G.U. 21
"	"	"	25 tal.	B.G.U. 21
Fourth century	cobblers	per month (?)	60 tal.	Pap. Rainer NN 94
"	oil workers	"	130 tal.	Pap. Rainer 37
"	tarsarius	per day	8 tal.	Pap. Rainer AN 289
"	weaver	per month	136 tal.	Pap. Rainer AN 289
"	groom	"	3,500 dr.	Pap. Rainer AN 299
"	mullo	"	6,000 dr.	Pap. Rainer AN 299
"	shipmaster	per day	100 tal.	Pap. Rainer E 1014
"	laborer	per month	200 tal.	Pap. Rainer AN 289
"	assistant	"	60 tal.	Pap. Rainer AN 289
"	"	"	60 tal.	Pap. Rainer AN 295
"	"	"	2 art. of wheat	P.B.M. 125
"	lanarius	"	2 art. of wheat	P.B.M. 125
"	mechanic	"	4 art. of wheat	P.B.M. 125
"	cook	"	25 art. of wheat	P.B.M. 125
Anastasius	laborer without donkey	per day	4 ceratia	Zach. of Mitylene 7, 6
"	laborer with donkey ²	"	8 ceratia	Zach. of Mitylene 7, 6
590 A.D.	laborer	"	4/9 cnidium of wine	O.P. 207
605 A.D.	purple worker	for 2 years	19 art. of wheat	Erman u. Krebs, Aus d. Pap. d. kön. mus., p. 219
610/11 A.D.	man in charge of race track and stable	per year	72 solidi	O.P. 138
618 A.D.	starter in the hippodrome	per month	5½ ceratia	O.P. 152

¹ This is perhaps the foreman of the stevedores.² These were wages paid in the construction of Dara in Mesopotamia and are said to be extremely high.

TABLE II—Continued
B. FOOD AND DRINK

Article	Date	Measure	Price	Authority
Wine	8 B.C.	300 cotylae	18 dr.	P.B.M. 1171
"	1 A.D.	1 jar	6 dr.	O.P. 745
"	78/9 A.D.	1 "	10 dr.	P.B.M. 131
"	130 A.D. ¹	1 "	7½ dr.	O.P. 472
"	191/2 A.D. ²	1 "	15 dr.	Goodspeed, Gk.
"	" "	1 "	16 dr.	Pap. 30. 19. 2
"	" "	1 cnidium ³	24 dr.	Goodspeed, Gk.
"	second century	1 jar	8 dr., 1 ob.	Pap. 30. 3. 10
"	" "	1 "	8 dr., 4 ob.	Goodspeed, Gk.
"	" "	1 "	3 denar.	Pap. 30. 35. 21
"	254 A.D.	1 monochorum	8 dr.	O.P. 522
"	287 A.D.	101 jars	1,100 dr.	Wilcken, G.O., I, 356
"	third century	1 chus	16 dr.	Giessen Pap. 79
"	" "	1 "	20 dr.	P.B.M. 1226
"	301 A.D.	1 sextarius	8 denar.	O.P. 1055
"	314 A.D.	1 cnidium	1,800 dr.	Grenfell, Gk.
"	340 A.D.	1 "	34 tal.	Pap. II, 77
"	" "	1 xestes	3 tal.	Grenfell, Gk.
"	350 A.D.	1 cnidium	2 tal.	Pap. II, 77
"	" "	1 spathium	25 tal.	Edict. Dioclet.
"	fourth century	1 jar	2 tal., 2,000 dr.	2. 10
"	" "	1 spathium	7 tal.	Pap. Rainer
"	" "	1 xestes	330,000 denar.	E 2000
"	" "	1 "	4 tal., 2,000 dr.	B.G.U. 21
"	" "	1 cnidium	1 tal.	B.G.U. 21
"	" "	1 "	3 tal., 2,000 dr.	P.B.M. 429
"	" "	1 "	20 tal.	P.B.M. 249
"	" "	1 spathium	5 tal.	O.P. 1288
"	" "	1 "	20 tal.	O.P. 1298
"	" "	1 xestes ⁴	2 tal.	P.B.M. 984
Vinegar	255 A.D. ⁵	1 jar	12 dr.	Pap. Rainer
"	340 A.D.	1 xestes	1,060 dr.	AN 289
Beer	Tiberius	1 chus	2 ob.	Pap. Rainer
"	78/79 A.D.	1 measure	1½ ob.	AN 295
"	301 A.D.	1 sextarius	2 denar.	Pap. Rainer

¹ In this document 150 jars of wine are pledged for the interest on 1½ talents of money. At the usual rate of 12 per cent, this means each jar was pledged for 7½ dr., which is probably a little less than the real value.

² This price is only approximate. In the papyrus 38 jars are sold for 542 dr., 1 chalcus. Goodspeed, *op. cit.*, p. 33 translates the "λγ" of the papyrus as "four dozen" thus obtaining a price of 11½ dr. per jar.

³ Goodspeed, *op. cit.*, p. 63 favors considering the *κνιδίον* of the papyrus as a diminutive of *κνιδίη* (nettle) rather than from *κνιδίον* as here in the table.

⁴ In Mesopotamia in ordinary times 25 measures of wine could be purchased for one aureus; in times of famine, the price rose until 2 measures only could be purchased for the same amount (see Joshua the Stylite, *Chron.* 43, 87 for the years 501/2 and 503/4 A.D.). In the reign of Theodoric wine could be purchased in Italy at the rate of 30 amphorae for one solidus (see Frag. Anon. Vales. 73).

⁵ In Dacia in the year 166 A.D. vinegar was sold at the rate of ½ denarius for 1 sextarius; see *C.I.L.*, 3, p. 953.

TABLE II—Continued

Article	Date	Measure	Price	Authority
Raphanus oil	255 A.D.	1 cotyla	2 dr.	B.G.U. 14
Oil	18 B.C.	1 choenix	5 dr.	Fayum Towns 101
"	1 A.D.	1 chus	4 dr. 2 ob.	O.P. 739
"	"	1 "	4 dr. 3 ob.	O.P. 739
"	"	1 "	4 dr. 4 ob.	O.P. 736
"	"	1 "	5 dr.	O.P. 819
"	191/2 A.D. ¹	1 "	16 dr.	Goodspeed, Gk. Pap. 30. 24. 16
"	255 A.D.	1 cotyla	4 dr.	B.G.U. 14
" (first quality)	301 A.D.	1 sectar.	40 denar.	Edict. Dioclet. 3. 1
" (second quality)	" "	1 "	24 denar.	Edict. Dioclet. 3. 2
" (coarse quality)	" "	1 "	12 denar.	Edict. Dioclet. 3. 3
"	third century	1 chus	6 dr.	Grenfell, Gk. Pap. II, 77
Wheat	69/79 A.D. ²	1 artaba	20 dr.	P.B.M. 896
"	78/79 A.D.	1 "	11 dr.	P.B.M. 131
"	"	1 "	10 dr.	P.B.M. 131
"	125 A.D.	1 "	7 dr., 1 ob.	B.G.U. 834
"	149 A.D.	1 "	7 dr.	Tebt. Pap. 394
"	183 A.D.	1 "	8 dr.	B.G.U. 200
"	191/92 A.D.	1 "	18 dr.	Goodspeed, Gk. Pap. 30. 13. 11
"	"	1 "	20 dr.	Goodspeed, Gk. Pap. 30. 15. 24
"	255 A.D.	1 "	16 dr.	B.G.U. 14
"	250-300 A.D.	1 "	19 dr.	Grenfell, Gk.
"	301 A.D. ³	1 cast. modius	100 denar.	Pap. I, 51
"	314 A.D.	1 artaba	1 tal. 4,000 dr.	Edict. Dioclet. 1. 1 Pap. Rainer £ 2900
"	350 A.D.	1 "	50 tal.	P.B.M. 427
"	fourth century	1 "	30 tal.	Pap. Rainer AN 289
"	"	1 "	26 tal.	Pap. Rainer AN 295
"	"	13 "	1 aureus	Palladius, Ascetium 11
"	"	5½ "	1 aureus	Palladius, Ascetium 11
"	seventh century ⁴	1 "	2 ceratia	O.P. 154
Barley	191/92 A.D. ⁵	1 "	10 dr., 1 ob.	Goodspeed, Gk. Pap. 30. 33. 31
"	301 A.D. ⁷	1 cast. modius	100 denar.	Edict. Dioclet. 1. 2

¹ The measure here is not expressed in the papyrus.² As it is doubtful whether this price refers to wheat or some other commodity, this item has been disregarded in all calculations.³ This is equivalent to 74½ cents per bushel. In 1912 the average price was \$1.06 per bushel.⁴ This is a famine price, the preceding price being the usual one.⁵ Joshua the Stylite (*Chron.* 26) gives the usual price of wheat in Mesopotamia as 30 modii for one aureus. During the Persian Wars at the end of the fifth century the price rose until it reached the rate of 13 choenices for one aureus. At Antioch in the middle of the fourth century the ordinary price was 10 modii for one aureus; see Julian, *Opera*, p. 369 B.⁶ This price is only approximate. In the papyrus 3 artabae are sold for 30 dr., 2 ob., 1 chalcus.⁷ This price is equivalent to 74½ cents per bushel. In 1912 the average price of barley was \$1.01 per bushel.

TABLE II—Continued

Article	Date	Measure	Price	Authority
Barley	314 A.D.	1 artaba	1 tal., 4,000 dr.	Pap. Rainer E 2000
"	346 A.D.	1 "	30 tal.	P.B.M. 248
"	third to fourth century ¹	1 "	14 dr.	Fayum Towns 131
"	third to fourth century ¹	1 "	20 dr.	Grenfell, Gk. Pap. II, 77
"	fourth century	1 "	25 tal.	Pap. Rainer AN 289
"	sixth "	12½ "	1 solidus	Vitelli, Pap. d. Soc. Ital. 88
'Pure' bread	1 A.D. ²	each	½ ob.	O.P. 736
Cake	"	"	½ ob.	O.P. 736
Aracus	360 A.D. ⁴	1 artaba	1,800,000 denar.	O.P. 1056
"	fifth century	1 "	1,700 tal.	Giessen Pap. 105
"	"	1 "	1,800 tal.	Giessen Pap. 105
Cummin	18 B.C.	1 "	7 dr.	Fayum Towns 101
"	fourth or fifth century ³	1 xestes	1 tal., 4,000 dr.	Pap. Rainer NN 74
Cnecus	18 B.C.	1 artaba	4 dr.	Fayum Towns 101
Lotus	95/96 A.D.	1 "	18 dr.	Fayum Towns 111
Dates	346 A.D.	1 "	15 tal.	P.B.M. 248
Date palms	348 A.D.	2 trees	124 tal.	B.G.U. 458
Vegetables	78/79 A.D.	1 artaba	20-21 dr.	P.B.M. 131
"	191/92 A.D.	1 "	16 dr.	Goodspeed, Gk. Pap. 30, 24, 17
Vetches	"	1 "	18 dr.	Goodspeed, Gk. Pap. 30, 16, 21
Lentils	78/79 A.D.	1 "	2½ dr.	P.B.M. 131
"	301 A.D.	1 "	100 denar.	Edict. Dioclet. 1, 11
"	fourth century	1 "	800 dr.	Pap. Rainer E 206
Onions	"	1 xestes	500 tal.	Pap. Rainer E 1014
Cabbage	1 A.D.	each	½ ob.	O.P. 736
Coriander	"	1 artaba	6 dr., 3 ob.	O.P. 819
Pease	255 A.D.	1 "	16 dr.	B.G.U. 14
Fruit of jujube tree	second to third century	1 "	20 dr., 2 ob.	O.P. 920
Meat	360 A.D. ⁴	1 lb.	145,000 denar.	O.P. 1056
"	fourth century	1 "	330,000 denar.	P.B.M. 984
"	"	1 "	1 tal., 2,000 dr.	Pap. Rainer AN 295
"	"	1 "	4 tal., 2,000 dr.	Pap. Rainer AN 289
"	"	1 "	3,200 dr.	P.B.M. 1289
Liver	"	1 "	3,200 dr.	P.B.M. 1259
Pigeons	1 A.D. ⁷	each	1 ob.	O.P. 736

¹ These prices are in close accord with those of the second century and make it possible that the documents belong to that period.

² In Mesopotamia at the very beginning of this century the usual price of barley was 50 modii for one aureus; see Joshua the Stylite, *Chron.* 26. The 12½ artabae of the papyrus equal 43½ modii, so the agreement between the two prices is fairly close.

³ In the English translation of Cassian (*Inst.*, 4, 14) the price of bread is given as "three pence" for 2 loaves. The original has been inaccessible to me. In Oxyrhynchus Pap. 522 one loaf with relish is the amount given per day to a workman for his "keep."

⁴ In this instance 40 artabae of aracus valued at 72,000,000 denarii were given in exchange for 500 pounds of meat. This seems a case of barter.

⁵ In Diocletian's edict (i. 32) the price is given as 200 denarii for one castrensis modius.

⁶ In Diocletian's edict (iv. 2) beef is worth 8 denarii a pound; an enormous difference from the prices given in our table.

⁷ In Diocletian's edict (iv. 29) pigeons are worth 24 denarii a pair.

TABLE II—Continued

Article	Date	Measure	Price	Authority
Birds	fourth century ¹	each	5 tal.	Pap. Rainer AN 295
"	" "	"	1 tal., 2,000 dr.	P.B.M. 1259
"	fourth to fifth century	"	4 tal., 2,000 dr.	Pap. Rainer NN 74
Eggs	fourth to fifth century ²	"	2,500 dr.	Pap. Rainer NN 74
Fish	fourth to fifth century ³	"	60,000 dr.	Pap. Rainer NN 74
Garum	143 A.D. ⁴	double jar	2 dr.	O.P. 520
"	fourth to fifth century ⁵	jar	150,000 dr.	Pap. Rainer NN 74
Breakfast	1 A.D.		1 ob.	O.P. 736
Grinding wheat	" "	per artaba	3 to 4 ob.	O.P. 736

C. WEARING APPAREL

Article	Date	Number	Price	Authority
Linen cloths	21 A.D.	each	3 dr.	O.P. 1281
"	266 A.D.	"	8 dr.	Tebt. Pap. 406
"	third to fourth century	"	20 dr.	Grenfell, Gk. Pap. II, 77
Chiton, linen	first century ⁶	"	4,600 dr.	Vitelli, Pap. d. Soc. Ital. 64
"	50 A.D.	"	8 dr.	O.P. 285
"	183 A.D.	"	16 dr.	O.P. 725
"	"	"	20 dr.	O.P. 725
"	"	"	24 dr.	O.P. 725
"	"	"	28 dr.	O.P. 725
"	"	"	32 dr.	O.P. 725
"	second century ⁷	"	8 dr.	O.P. 1269
"	260 A.D.	"	100 dr.	O.P. 1273
" , white-tasseled and striped	third century	"	40 dr.	Tebt. Pap. 423
Paenula	1 A.D.	"	10 dr.	O.P. 736
Robe, milk white	36 A.D.	"	12 dr.	O.P. 267
Chlamys and sticharium	fourth century	"	17 tal.	O.P. 1288
Sticharium	346 A.D.	"	154 myriads of denar.	P.B.M. 247
Delmatica, silvery-striped	260 A.D.	"	260 dr.	O.P. 1273
Delmatica, turquoise color	" "	"	100 dr.	O.P. 1273

¹ In Diocletian's edict (iv. 23) fowls are worth 60 denarii a pair.² During the Persian invasion of Mesopotamia in the year 500/501 A.D., eggs were sold at 40 nummi apiece, a famine price; see Joshua the Stylite, *Chron.* 43.³ In Diocletian's edict (v. 3, 4) river fish are worth 12 and 8 denarii a pound.⁴ Garum or fish pickle was made in the Fayum, and this is undoubtedly the native product.⁵ In Diocletian's edict (iii. 6, 7) the price is given as 16 and 12 denarii per sextarius.⁶ A comparison of this price with others from the first century makes it evident that there is a mistake here either in the date of the document or in the price. Two or three slaves at the contemporary prices could be bought for this amount.⁷ The price here given is that at which the garment was pawned and is, accordingly, something less than the real value. In another second-century papyrus (*P.B.M.*, 193) various garments are pawned at the following prices: white chiton, 11 dr.; green chiton, 16 dr.; scarlet chiton, 20 dr.

TABLE II—Continued

Article	Date	Number	Price	Authority
Delmatica, white, purple border	260 A.D.	each	100 dr.	O.P. 1273
Delmatica	fourth century	"	2 tal. plus 1 cnidium of wine	Pap. Rainer AN 299
Vest, Dalmatian, onyx color	fifth century	"	33,850,000 denar.	O.P. 1026
Vest, Xolte	" "	"	30,000,000 denar.	O.P. 1026
Kerchief	" "	"	7,500,000 denar.	O.P. 1026
Towel and linen cloth	" "	"	15,000,000 denar.	O.P. 1026
Himation	first century ¹	"	5 copper tal.	Vitelli, Pap.d. Soc. Ital. 84
Babylonian hide	301 A.D.	"	500 denar.	Edict. Dioclet. 8. 1
" "	346 A.D.	"	1,200,000 denar.	P.B.M. 247
Shoes, women's	fourth century	"	1,200 dr.	O.P. 1288
" "	301 A.D.	"	60 denar.	Edict. Dioclet. 9. 10
" with hobnails	fourth century	"	3 tal., 2,000 dr.	Pap. Rainer AN 289
Weaving loom, 3 cubits less 2 palms in width	54 A.D.	"	20 dr.	O.P. 264
Needle and thread	1 A.D.	"	1 ob.	O.P. 736
" , sewing, first quality	301 A.D.	"	5 denar.	Edict. Dioclet. 16. 8a
Needle, sewing, second quality	"	"	2½ denar.	Edict. Dioclet. 16. 9
Weaving a paenula	1 A.D.	"	1 dr., 2 ob.	O.P. 736

D. HOUSEHOLD UTENSILS

Article	Date	Number	Price	Authority
Tin lecythus	second century ²	each	4 dr.	O.P. 1269
Ladles	fifth century	for 4	470 myriads of denar.	O.P. 1289
Curved knives	" "	for 3	120 myriads of denar.	O.P. 1289
Scissors	" "	for 5	250 myriads of denar.	O.P. 1289
" , large	" "	for 2	150 myriads of denar.	O.P. 1289
Knife	" "	each	30 myriads of denar.	O.P. 1289
Cups	" "	for 24	1,200 myriads of denar.	O.P. 1289
" , large	" "	for 13	1,054 myriads of denar.	O.P. 1289
Triclinium with linen cover and four cushions, embroidered	255 A.D.		500 dr.	O.P. 1277
Basket	1 A.D.	each	1½ ob.	O.P. 739
" , for fish	143 A.D.	for 8	1 dr., 1 ob.	O.P. 520
" , small	191/92 A.D.	each	4 dr.	Goodspeed, Gk. Pap. Rainer E 2000
" , large	314 A.D.	"	300 dr.	Pap. Rainer E 2000
" , small	314 A.D.	"	200 dr.	Pap. Rainer E 2000
Wicks	143 A.D.	for 50	1 ob.	O.P. 520

¹ One copper talent here is worth 36 silver drachmae.² The price here given is that at which the article was pawned; the real value would be somewhat higher.

TABLE II—Continued

E. OBJECTS OF PERSONAL ADORNMENT

Object	Date	Price	Authority
Pair of gold earrings	36 A.D.	20 dr.	O.P. 267
Pair of unstamped silver bracelets	114 A.D. ¹	40 dr.	B.G.U. 22

F. ANIMALS

Animal	Date	Price	Authority
Cow, with calf	124 A.D.	62 dr.	P.B.M. 839
"	134 A.D.	44 dr.	Fayum Towns 62
"	337-350 A.D.	600 tal.	P.B.M. II, 304
Donkey ²	101 A.D.	306 dr.	Vitelli, Pap. d. Soc. Ital. 38
"	111 A.D.	208 dr.	Tebt. Pap. 474
" , young female	126 A.D.	56 dr.	Fayum Towns 93
"	142 A.D.	148 dr.	P.B.M. 303
"	143 A.D.	160 dr.	P.B.M. 466
"	148 A.D.	64 dr.	P.B.M. 313
" , female with foal	179 A.D.	160 dr.	P.B.M. 339
"	197 A.D.	300 dr.	B.G.U. 527
"	second to third century	260 dr.	B.G.U. 228
"	216/17 A.D.	1,500 dr.	Vitelli, Pap. d. Soc. Ital. 79
"	219 A.D.	500 dr.	B.G.U. 413
"	fourth century	20 tal.	Pap. Rainer AN 289
"	sixth to seventh century ³	2½ solidi	O.P. 922
Camel	144 A.D.	500 dr.	B.G.U. 87
"	147 A.D.	800 dr.	B.G.U. 88
"	150 A.D.	670 dr.	B.G.U. 416
"	152 A.D.	800 dr.	B.G.U. 153
"	154 A.D.	580 dr.	B.G.U. 453
"	157/8 A.D.	800 dr.	P.B.M. 320
"	159 A.D.	780 dr.	B.G.U. 100
"	159/60 A.D.	680 dr.	B.G.U. 469
"	160 A.D.	600 dr.	P.B.M. 323
" and 2 foals	177-79 A.D.	900+dr.	P.B.M. 1100
" , male Arabian	289 A.D.	16 tal., 3,000 dr.	B.G.U. 13
" , female	302 A.D.	9 tal.	Grenfell, Gr. Pap. II, 74
" , male	302 A.D.	9 tal.	P.B.M. 714
" , male	"	9 tal.	Grenfell, Gr. Pap. II, 74
Pig, young	191/2 A.D.	20 dr.	Goodspeed, Gk. Pap. 30, 23. 8
"	second century ⁴	40 dr.	O.P. 1269
" , young	"	2 dr. 3 ob.	P.B.M. 928
"	fourth century	50 denar.	Wessely, Ein Alter-sindiz., p. 8

¹ The bracelets were valued, as in modern Egyptian usage, according to the weight of the coin silver they contained.

² At Pompeii the price of a mule is given at 520 sesterces; see *C.I.L.*, 4, 3340, 1. Apuleius records the sale of a donkey at three different prices: 17 denarii, 50 sesterces, 11 denarii; see *Metam.* 8, 25; 9, 31; 10, 13.

³ The price here mentioned is the average at which ten animals in the papyrus were sold.

⁴ In the Dacian wax tablets (*C.I.L.*, 3, p. 953, of the year 166 A.D.) the price of a young pig is given as 5 denarii.

TABLE II—Continued

Animal	Date	Price	Authority
Pig " , young	fourth century ¹ fifth century seventh century	8 tal. 3 ceratia 3 ceratia less 36 folles	P.B.M. 1259 Pap. Rainer E 420 Pap. Rainer AN 432 Vitelli, Pap. d. Soc. Ital. 39
Horse " " , from Constanti- nople Horse Sheep	148 A.D. ² sixth to seventh century sixth to seventh century 618 A.D. second to third century	188 dr. 2 solidi 3 solidi 3 solidi 18 dr., 2 ob.	O.P. 922 O.P. 922 O.P. 153 O.P. 184

G. SLAVES

Kind of Slave	Date	Price	Authority
Girl, 8 years old	77 A.D.	640 dr.	O.P. 263
Woman, with two(?) children	79 A.D.	1,800 dr.(?)	O.P. 375
Slave child	85/86 A.D.	140 dr.	O.P. 336
Woman, 35 years old	86 A.D.	10 dr. of silver plus 10 tal., 3,000 dr. of copper	O.P. 48
Man	100 A.D.	10 dr. of silver plus 2 tal., 600 dr. of copper	O.P. 49
Woman, 25 years old	129 A.D. ³	1,200 dr.	O.P. 95
Boy	166 A.D. ⁴	200 denar.	P.B.M. 229
Woman, 25 years old	178 A.D.	900 dr.	O.P. 485
Man	180 A.D. ⁵	520 dr.	O.P. 96
Girl, with infant boy	251-53 A.D.	2,000 dr.	O.P. 1209
Woman, with 2 children	291 A.D.	14 tal.	O.P. 1205
Slaves, two	337-350 A.D.	2,400 tal. for two	P.B.M. 251
Galic boy	359 A.D. ⁶	18 solidi	B.G.U. 316

H. BUILDING MATERIAL

Article	Date	Price	Authority
Outer squared stones	second century	16 for 4 dr.	O.P. 498
Inner " "	" "	30 for 4 dr.	O.P. 498
Antiblemata " "	" "	100 for 3 dr.	O.P. 498

¹ The prices given in this papyrus are confusing; i.e., pig or pork, 2,400 drachmae; pig, 8 talents; young pig, 10 talents.

² The price of this horse is so low when compared with the prices of contemporary donkeys and camels that we must infer it was a very poor specimen.

³ In the Dacian wax tablets the sales of three slaves are recorded:

139 A.D. six-year old girl 205 denar. *C.I.L.*, 3, p. 937
142 A.D. boy 600 denar. *C.I.L.*, 3, p. 941
160 A.D. girl 420 denar. *C.I.L.*, 3, p. 959

⁴ This sale took place in Italy, the purchaser being an Egyptian attached to the fleet at Misenum.

⁵ This price is obtained by considering the tax of 52 drachmae paid on the sale as equal to 10 per cent of the value of the slave.

⁶ This sale was made in Acalon to a soldier from Arsinoe who was temporarily in Syria.

TABLE II—Continued

Article	Date	Price	Authority
Outer oblong corner stone	second century	16 for 8 dr.	O.P. 498
Inner oblong corner stone	" "	30 for 8 dr.	O.P. 498
Chipped, squared stone	" "	50 for 4 dr.	O.P. 498
Chipped, oblong corner stone	" "	50 for 8 dr.	O.P. 498
Brick, laying 10,000	172 A.D.	40 dr.	Teht. Pap. 402

I. TRANSPORTATION

Date	Nature of Transportation	Price	Authority
Second century	Donkey hire per day ¹	2 dr.	O.P. 1049
215 A.D.		4 dr.	B.G.U. 302
191/2 A.D.	Five donkeys going from Karanis to Memphis	10 dr., 2 ob.	Goodspeed, Gk. Pap. 30, 36, 10
Second century	Baggage wagon per day	1½ dr.	Wilcken, G.O. 1180
	Boatload of wheat from Oxyrhyn. to Alexandria	21 dr. per 100 art.	O.P. 522
236 A.D.	Freight on 250 artabae of vegetable seed carried from Arsinoe to Oxyrhynchus	100 dr. plus 1 jar of wine plus 16 dr., if boat held over 4 days at Oxyrhyn.	P.B.M. 948
Fourth century	Boatload of grain from Fayum to Alexandria	9 tal.	Mittels, Pap. Leipzig 5
534 A.D.	Freight on 1485½ artabae of wheat from Oxyrhyn. to Alexandria	11 solidi, 3½ ceratia	O.P. 142
Third to fourth century	Carrying corpse from Great Oasis to Nile(?)	340 dr.	Grenfell, Gk. Pap. II, 77
Second century	Traveling allowance to soldier for trip from Egypt to Misenum	3 aurei	B.G.U. 423
612 A.D.	To boatmen for going from Oxyrhyn. to Alexandria to bring back an advocate	3 solidi less 12 ceratia	O.P. 151

J. MISCELLANEOUS ITEMS

Items	Date	Price	Authority
Hide, cowhide, unworked	301 A.D. ²	500 denar.	Edict. Dioclet. 8, 6a
"	362 A.D.	75,000,000 denar.	O.P. 1057
Hay, per donkey load	100 A.D. ³	12 dr.	Fayum Towns 119
" crop on 3 arurae of land	142 A.D.	276 dr.	O.P. 728

¹ Today a donkey may be hired for 30 to 50 cents a day, the owner paying for the feed. For a donkey worth \$40.00, this is at the rate of about 1 per cent of its value per day. If we average all the second-century prices of donkeys, this rent is at a rate of a trifle over 1 per cent per day. In Diocletian's edict the rent of a laden donkey is 4 denarii per mile and of a baggage wagon 12 denarii per mile.

² In B.G.U. 655 of 215 A.D. we find a taxpayer giving 8 drachmae in money instead of furnishing one or more hides to the army.

³ In Diocletian's edict (xvii. 7) the price of hay and straw is fixed at 2 denarii for 3 pounds. In *ibid.*, xvii. 8 the price of pabulum is fixed at 1 denarius for 6 pounds.

TABLE II—Continued

Items	Date	Price	Authority
Straw, for 1,800 pounds	340 A.D. ¹	144 tal.	B.G.U. 21
Manure, per artaba	third century ²	4 dr.	O.P. 934
Tow, per pound	fourth century	4 tal.	Pap. Rainer
" " "	" "	1 tal., 2,000 dr.	AN 310
Red pigment (sandyx)	" "	160 tal.	O.P. 1288
Colors for painting, per xestes	second century	7 dr. to 9 dr., 1 ob.	Pap. Rainer
Aromatic oil	fourth century	4 tal.	AN 310
Acacia trees, 2 fallen	13 A.D.	8 dr.	O.P. 1188
" " , each	188 A.D.	13 dr.	O.P. 1112
" " , for 14	225 A.D.	1,200 dr.	O.P. 909
Persea tree, 1 small dried branch	13 A.D.	6 dr.	O.P. 1188
Persea tree, branch of living tree	" "	1 dr.	O.P. 1188
Persea tree, 1 branch of dried tree	" "	1 dr.	O.P. 1188
Reeds, for 1,000 bundles	2 B.C.	15 dr.	O.P. 742
Wax tablet and stylus	1 A.D.	1 ob.	O.P. 736
Water jars, per 100	113 A.D.	6 dr.	P.B.M. 1177
Purse	second to third century	1 dr.	Teht. Pap. 337
Nails, per mina	255 A.D.	12 dr.	B.G.U. 14
Malleable bronze, for 6 lbs.	338 A.D.	1,000 denar.	O.P. 85
Wrought iron, for 100 lbs.	316 A.D.	6 tal.	O.P. 84
Perfume, dry precipitate, 1 cotyla	third century	32 dr.	O.P. 1142

¹ In Pompeii the price of straw was 5 asses per pound; see *C.I.L.*, 4, 4000.² Pliny *H.N.*, xviii. 53 gives the price of manure as 1 denarius per cartload.³ Pliny *H.N.*, xxxv. 23 gives the price of sandyx as 2½ asses per pound.

ON THE EXPULSION OF FOREIGNERS FROM ROME

BY RICHARD WELLINGTON HUSBAND

From the half-imaginary accounts by Livy and Cicero of the history of the early kingship in Rome, we derive the impression that foreigners were made welcome in the city, and that their desire to establish themselves there was a proof of the greatness of primitive Rome and of the excellence of its government. We gain no idea whatsoever from these two writers that the citizens at any time objected to the influx of foreigners until the last two centuries of the Republic. Evidently a feeling of uneasiness then sprang up on account of the almost continuous arrival of new foreigners, who made the orderly conduct of public business more difficult. For this reason there arose a series of executive decrees and legislative enactments on the subject, which continued almost to the close of the republican period. But actual expulsion of foreigners from Rome was very infrequent, and seems to have been felt by some citizens as an extremely harsh and possibly unnecessary measure. The feeling of Cicero toward the phenomenon of expulsion in general is thus expressed: "*Nihil acerbius socii et Latini ferre soliti sunt quam se, id quod perraro accidit, ex urbe exire a consulibus iuberi. Atque illis tum erat reditus in suas civitates ad suos Lares familiaris, et in illo communi incommodo nulla in quemquam propria ignominia nominatim cadebat.*"¹ This statement, very general in character, merely gives the information that even allies and those possessed of Latin rights had occasionally been banished from the city, but this was very rare, and, whenever it had happened, no disgrace ever attached to the individual; that is to say, it was not the habit of the Romans to institute definite criminal proceedings on the basis of the false assumption of the rights of citizenship. In all such cases the resident alien was permitted to return to his home and resume his civic position in his own town.²

¹ *Sest.* 30; cf. *Livy* xli. 24.

² This interpretation is confirmed by the use of the imperfects *erat* and *cadebat*, as well as by the word *tum*.

Dionysius, in treating of the events of the year 486 B.C., gives what purports to be the history of an attempt to expel Latins and Hernicans from Rome,¹ and, although Mommsen has shown that the story has little foundation in fact,² it is interesting because it probably represents fairly accurately the motives which inspired the Romans to form such resolutions, as often as they made efforts in that direction. The question arose over the distribution of some newly acquired territory, and the Senate debated whether plots of land should be given only to Romans, or should be granted also to Latins and Hernicans, with whom they had recently made treaties. One of the consuls favored the second alternative, and when the matter was to be submitted to the people for their decision he caused large numbers of the Latins and Hernicans to assemble in Rome, in the hope that many of them might succeed in casting their votes also, and their right to do so not be challenged. It was this deliberate attempt at procuring the false assumption of civic rights that induced the other consul to propose the expulsion of the foreigners from the city. Expulsion was the remedy frequently adopted for illegal usurpation of the franchise.

The first undoubted instance of the expulsion of foreigners took place in the year 187 B.C. Livy's account of the matter is this:

Legatis deinde sociorum Latini nominis, qui toto undique ex Latio frequentes convenerant, senatus datus est. His querentibus magnam multitudinem civium suorum Romam commigrasse et ibi censos esse, Q. Terentio Culleoni praetori negotium datum est, ut eos conquireret, et quem C. Claudio M. Livio censoribus postea eos censores ipsum parentemve eius apud se censum esse probassent socii, ut redire eo cogeret ubi censi essent. Hac conquisitione duodecim milia Latinorum domos redierunt, iam tum multitudine alienigenarum urbem onerante.³

Thus, delegates of the Latins from all parts of Latium came to Rome and complained that many who were citizens of towns had removed to Rome and secured the entry of their names in the Roman records. This movement was so extensive that the population of the towns was decreasing. The Senate, therefore, after studying the situation, voted that all those who had settled in Rome since the year 204 B.C. should be sent back to their own towns. In order to carry out this measure effectively and equitably, an investigation—

¹ viii. 68-76.

² *Hermes*, V, 236 ff.

³ xxxix. 3.

conquisitio—was to be conducted by a praetor, who should inquire—*conquireret*—whether a person was foreign born, and, if he found that to be the case, whether he had removed to Rome later than the specified date. It is significant that the delegates asserted that the persons in question were “their” citizens, that is to say, they had not properly acquired the rights of the Roman franchise. As early as this time Latins, and other Italians, could obtain practically all the rights of Roman citizenship under certain conditions and contingent upon the nature of the special treaties between Rome and their towns. One who emigrated from his own town to Rome had a limited right of franchise; by complete expatriation he could acquire all the privileges of citizenship; one who had left a son at home could enjoy the franchise at Rome; magistrates of towns received Roman citizenship.¹ Under all these circumstances it is not surprising that many persons among the thousands of Italians who were living, and doing business, in Rome, should seek to have their names entered surreptitiously, or by false pretenses, upon the censors’ lists as Roman citizens, without fulfilling the terms of the treaties with Rome.

The second instance of expulsion occurred just a decade later, in the year 177 B.C. Livy gives the story briefly:

Legem dein de sociis C. Claudius tulit ex senatus consulto, et edixit, qui socii ac nominis Latini ipsi maioresve eorum M. Claudio T. Quinctio censoribus postve ea apud socios nominis Latini censi essent, ut omnes in suam quisque civitatem ante Kal. Novembres redirent. Quaestio, qui ita non redissent, L. Mummius praetori decreta est.²

This situation differs from that of ten years earlier only in the fact that the present action was based on a law passed by the people, following a recommendation by the Senate, while the other was merely an executive order emanating from the Senate alone. It is clear that this measure had to do with the present condition only, and did not look forward to the future, but it illustrates the interesting fact that large questions concerning the acquisition of citizenship were decided by the citizen body.³ The circumstances leading up to the enactment are related by Livy in the preceding chapter:

Postea his quoque imaginibus iuris spretis, promiscue sine lege, sine stirpe in civitatem Romanam per migrationem et censum transibant. Haec ne

¹ App. *B.C.* i. 23; Livy xxv. 3. 16; xli. 8. 9; Cic. *Pro Cascina* 102; Asc. *In Pison.*, p. 3.

² xli. 9. 9-10.

³ Cf. Livy xxvi. 33. 10.

postea fierent, petebant legati, et ut redire in civitates iuberent socios; deinde, ut lege caverent, ne quis quem civitatis mutandae causa suum faceret neve alienaret, et si quis ita civis Romanus factus esset, *civis ne esset*. Haec impetrata ab senatu.¹

Evidently many had succeeded in evading the requirements for enrolment in Rome, and their fellow-citizens in the towns sought for their exclusion from the citizens' lists in Rome and their return to their own proper citizenship. In its purpose it is exactly like the decree of ten years before, but there is one important added feature. To attend to the cases of those who did not obey the order to depart from Rome, a *quaestio* was created and placed under the presidency of L. Mummius, a praetor. In the time of Livy the word *quaestio*, occurring in a legal paragraph, would inevitably be understood by a reader to signify "a criminal court," and if the other meaning of the word, "investigation," came into his mind at all he would undoubtedly reject it immediately.² The power granted to the praetor must have been the power of *coercitio*, that is, the right to compel the observance of an executive order. If the order were not obeyed, *qui ita non redissent*, he could threaten prosecution. Who were foreigners and who were not foreigners would generally be quite evident, so that there would not often be need for an investigation of the facts, provided the measure contemplated a general expulsion of all foreigners, but cases might arise where the praetor would be forced to grant a hearing to those who claimed that they were Roman citizens by birth, or that they had acquired the citizenship legally. However, if this were what Livy meant, he would not have used the expression "those who did not return," but would have said "those who claimed that they were Roman citizens." On the whole, therefore, we are compelled to believe that this was a second instance of the attempt to purify the list of citizens, by placing the penalty of expulsion upon those who had been guilty of usurping the rights of citizenship. It is to be noticed also that this was a more thorough purification than the first, for it included all allies and those possessed of Latin rights. The phrase *socii ac nominis Latini* would include the

¹ xli. 8. 11-12.

² For the use of the word *quaestio* in the meaning of "a criminal court," or an investigation to ascertain the criminality of an action, cf. Livy iv. 51. 2; xxxviii. 55. 4; xxxix. 14. 6.

inhabitants of the whole of Italy,¹ whereas the earlier decree limited its operation to those of Latium itself.

But it is evident that this measure failed of its intended effect, or, through the carelessness of officials, was not strictly enforced. Livy says that only nine years later, in 168 B.C., a new effort was made to carry out its object:

Censa sunt civium Romanorum capita ducenta sexaginta novem milia et quindecim, minor aliquanto numerus, quia L. Postumius consul pro contione edixerat, qui socium Latini nominis ex edicto C. Claudii consulis redire in civitates suas debuissent, ne quis eorum Romae, et omnes in suis civitatibus, censerentur.²

This was merely a statement by the chief executive that he intended to enforce the measure enacted nine years earlier, and the object was to prevent further corruption in the voters' lists. It could not have been a thoroughgoing expulsion of foreigners, for Livy says that only those who had escaped the action of the former decree were affected by this one. The result of the new edict was that the number of names on the citizens' lists was diminished, and this again is proof that the expulsion was simply the penalty for an illegal action.

The banishment of the Greek philosophers and rhetoricians in the year 161 B.C. is of no particular consequence here, except that it shows the readiness of the Romans to get rid of undesirable persons by a method known to them from the Greeks. Nothing more is heard of the matter of expulsion for about forty years, when something of the kind was again carried out upon the initiative of a tribune named Pennus. This is not mentioned by the historians, but is known through a meager reference by Cicero:

Male etiam, qui peregrinos urbibus uti prohibent eosque exterminant, ut Pennus apud patres nostros, Papius nuper. Nam esse pro cive, qui civis non sit, rectum est non licere; quam legem tulerunt sapientissimi consules Crassus et Scaevola; usu vero urbis prohibere peregrinos sane inhumanum est.³

¹ For similar broad use of the phrase (with or without *ac*), cf. Livy xxxviii. 35. 9; xl. 19. 6; xl. 36. 6; xli. 8. 6.

² xlii. 10. 2-3.

³ *De off.* iii. 11. 47.

The date of this resolution is 126 B.C.¹ It may be that Festus refers to the same episode when he writes:

Respublica multarum civitatum pluraliter dixit C. Gracchus in ea, quam conscripsit de lege p. Enni [Penni, Müller] et peregrinis, cum ait: eae nationes, cum aliis rebus, per avaritiam atque stultitiam res publicas suas amiserunt.²

If this correction of the text by Müller can be accepted, it is clear that the resolution proposed by Pennus was of the same nature as the earlier ones, for the words *avaritia* and *stultitia* can refer only to clumsy attempts to secure enrolment in the censors' lists. But even with this view, it is hard to see what he means by saying that these tribes lost their states, for there is no indication that a tribe ever suffered, by degradation or otherwise, through the misdemeanors of individual members of the tribe. In the uncertainty of the text of Festus, it is necessary to rely upon the very brief statement of Cicero, and this seems to indicate that the law of Pennus was much broader in its scope than any of the earlier laws. Cicero contrasts it in point of severity with the next law passed on the subject, that of Crassus and Scaevola, and almost expressly states that it had for its purpose a general expulsion of foreigners, and not simply the purification of the censors' lists.

Four years later, in 122 B.C., C. Gracchus made many of his important proposals in quick succession, prominent among which was one to confer citizenship upon Latins and allies. During the voting on these proposals, those not possessing the franchise were temporarily expelled from the city, according to Plutarch:

ἔπεισεν ἡ βουλὴ τὸν ὑπάτον Φάννιον ἐκβαλεῖν τοὺς ἄλλους πλὴν Ῥωμαίων ἅπαντας. γενομένου δὲ κηρύγματος ἀθήους καὶ ἀλλοκότου, μηδένα τῶν συμμάχων μηδὲ τῶν φίλων ἐν Ῥώμῃ φανῆναι περὶ τὰς ἡμέρας ἐκείνας, ἀντεξέθηκεν ὁ Γάιος διάγραμμα κατηγορῶν τοῦ ὑπάτου καὶ τοῖς συμμάχοις, ἂν μένωσι, βοηθήσειν ἐπαγγελλόμενος.³

And this is confirmed by the equally explicit account given by Appian:

ἐφ' ᾧ δὴ μάλιστα ἡ βουλὴ διαταραχθεῖσα τοὺς ὑπάτους ἐκέλευσε προγράψαι μηδένα τῶν οὐ φερόντων ψῆφον ἐπιδημεῖν τῇ πόλει, μηδὲ προσπελάζειν ἀπὸ τεσσαράκοντα σταδίων παρὰ τὴν ἐσομένην περὶ τῶνδε τῶν νόμων χειροτονίαν.⁴

¹ Cic. Brut. 109.

² Festus, p. 286.

³ C. Gracchus 12.

⁴ B.C. i. 23.

It is obvious that the measure so described was not a matter of permanent significance, and the only feature worthy of comment is that it was connected with an effort to prevent illegal use of the ballot, or, in other words, it aimed at maintaining the sacredness of the rights of citizenship. It is very similar to the unfounded story told by Dionysius that the Latins and Hernicans were expelled during the voting upon a matter that was of immediate concern to them.

The next law upon this subject, commonly called the *lex Licinia-Mucia*, was passed in 95 B.C., on the motion of the two consuls L. Licinius Crassus and Q. Mucius Scaevola. It is mentioned more frequently than the earlier laws, partly no doubt because its influence was still felt while Cicero was at the bar, but partly also because it was somewhat instrumental in bringing about the social war. It is mentioned in the following passages: (1) Cic. *De officiis* iii. 11. 47, cited above; (2) Asconius *In Cornel.*, p. 67: "Hi enim legem eam de qua loquitur de redigendis in suas civitates sociis in suo consulatu tulerunt. Nam cum summa cupiditate civitatis Romanae Italici populi tenerentur et ob id magna pars eorum pro civibus Romanis se gereret, necessaria lex visa est, ut in suae quisque civitatis ius redigeretur"; (3) Scholia Bobiensia *In Cic. Sest.*, p. 296: "Huiusmodi leges ferri dicebantur de civibus redigendis. Qualem tulerunt L. Licinius Crassus et Q. Mucius Scaevola: ut redire socii et Latini in civitates suas iuberentur"; (4) Cic. *Brut.* 63: "[Lysias] est enim Atticus, quoniam certe Athenis est et natus et mortuus et functus omni civium munere, quamquam Timaeus eum quasi Licinia et Mucia lege repetit Syracusas"; (5) Cic. *Balb.* 48: "Itaque cum paucis annis post hanc civitatis donationem acerrima de civitate quaestio Licinia et Mucia lege venisset, num quis eorum, qui de foederatis civitatibus esset civitate donatus, in iudicium est vocatus?"; (6) Cic. *Balb.* 54: "Quodsi acerbissima lege Servilia principes viri et gravissimi et sapientissimi cives hanc Latinis, id est foederatis, viam ad civitatem populi iussu patere passi sunt [i.e., by successful prosecution for extortion], neque ius est hoc reprehensum Licinia et Mucia lege, cum praesertim genus ipsum accusationis et nomen et eius modi praemium, quod nemo adsequi posset nisi ex senatoris calamitate."

In the first of these passages, Cicero says only that the law was intended to prevent those who were not citizens from acting as citizens. But he contrasts it with other laws by saying that it was much less heartless than they, for it was concerned merely with a certain class of foreigners, those, namely, who had committed a wrongful act. And the fact that the law proposed by the two consuls was simply a preventive measure, *non licere*, makes it reasonably certain that there was nothing else in it, but that its sole object was to prohibit those who had illegally secured the rights that belonged only to Roman citizens from exercising those rights any longer. Nothing whatever is said about other foreigners, nor is anything said about punishment of this special class of offenders. Asconius is indefinite, an unusual thing for him, but he does give the information that the law was inspired by the efforts of foreigners to use civic rights unlawfully. The scholiast says explicitly that the law had for its purpose the expulsion of those who were not citizens, and probably that would be a fair interpretation also of the words of Asconius. The situation of Lysias in Athens, cited by Cicero in the *Brutus*, illustrates a position in which it would be absurd to attempt the application of this law. One who had lived as Lysias lived during his whole career should be secure in his position. And yet one cannot avoid the suspicion that Cicero meant to imply that the law could have been applied in the case of Lysias, however unreasonable and ungrateful the Athenians would have shown themselves if they had done so. Although Lysias spent much of his life in the public service of Athens, yet he lived as a resident alien, and never received civic rights. If the Licinian-Mucian law could be technically applied to him, it could be applied to any resident alien, and we should be obliged to conclude that it was broad enough to secure the expulsion of any foreigner. That would contradict the interpretation of the passage in the *De officiis* given above.

But the two passages cited from the speech in behalf of Balbus make the purpose of the law perfectly clear. The earlier shows that a very strict *quaestio* was established. This may mean, as said above, either "an investigation" or "a court of law." If the law were intended solely to procure the expulsion of foreigners, an investigation, in the case of any individual, would necessarily mean that the

individual was threatened with expulsion, but appealed to the person (probably a praetor, as in 177 B.C.) in charge of such investigations. But in that case the words *de civitate* would be much less appropriate than some such phrase as *de civibus redigendis* or *de peregrinitate* (or the republican equivalent for this post-Augustan word), because the investigation would not be held to determine whether he was a citizen, but to determine whether he was a foreigner. And again, the phrase *in iudicium vocatus* would be impossible in that situation, for, if the assumed foreigner demanded a hearing, the word *vocatus* could not be used, inasmuch as it necessarily applies only to the defendant who is summoned in a case, whereas this man would be the complainant. Cicero must mean, therefore, that persons were actually accused of being foreigners, and were made defendants in suits charging them with a false and criminal assumption of citizenship. The second of the passages cited from this oration merely shows another circumstance in which the law was not applied. The citizenship of successful prosecutors in cases of extortion was so obvious that no action was brought against them, and no effort was made to have them expelled.

Of the six passages cited in connection with the Licinian-Mucian law, three from Cicero are decidedly in favor of the view that the object of the law was the establishment of a court to try cases of alleged illegal assumption of the rights of Roman citizens. The fourth passage of Cicero is inconclusive. Of the two annotators, Asconius, while somewhat indefinite, seems to regard the law as one for the expulsion of foreigners from the city, and the scholiast unquestionably takes the same position. In a choice among such authorities we must prefer to follow Cicero, who was living at the time the law was in operation and pleaded cases under the law on this subject which followed next after the one discussed.

The last republican law upon this topic was proposed and carried by Gaius Papius, a tribune of the year 65 B.C. Since it was under the provisions of this law that Cicero pleaded the cases of Archias and Balbus, it becomes especially important, and much discussion has arisen over its terms. Some scholars are of the opinion that these cases, and others of like nature, were mere investigations, carried on as an adjunct to one of the established courts, either criminal

or civil. Others believe that they were criminal prosecutions, directed against those of foreign birth who had unlawfully taken upon themselves the privileges of Roman citizens. But before discussing that question, it is desirable to obtain a summary view of the results of the examination of the earlier experiences of the Romans on the subject of their relation to foreigners. The case given by Dionysius may be omitted as unauthenticated, and that of the expulsion of the rhetoricians in 161 B.C. need not be considered, since it was an isolated phenomenon of the banishment of an undesirable element in the population. Apart from these, there were six occasions on which the Romans undertook to get rid of certain persons. A careful examination of the sources makes it appear almost a certainty that four of them, those of 187, 177, 168, and 95 B.C., had as their object the purification of the censors' lists by striking out those names which had been illegally inserted. A fifth, that of 122 B.C., excluded foreigners from the city only during the voting upon certain proposed laws, and it is, therefore, of no permanent importance. The sixth, that of 126 B.C., seems to have been the sole case of a general expulsion, and even there the evidence is not quite conclusive. It has also been shown by scholars that this whole matter was a part of the struggle between the senatorial and popular parties for the control of the government, and this view is supported by the fact that five of the six instances arose directly from the Senate, either by decree or by an act of legislation originating with the Senate. With this history in mind, one would naturally approach the law of Papius in the expectation of finding that its purpose also was the purification of records, rather than the expulsion of foreigners.

The law of Papius is mentioned eight times by ancient writers: (1) *Scholia Bobiensia*, p. 354, in the argument to the oration for Archias: "reus factus lege Papia, quae lata fuerat ad eos coercendos qui temere et illicite civitatem Romanam usurpassent"; (2) *Scholia Bobiensia*, p. 354, note on section 3 of the oration: "hanc enim causam lege Papia de civitate Romana apud Q. Ciceronem dixit Archias"; (3) Dio Cassius xxxvii. 9: καὶ ἐν τούτῳ πάντες οἱ ἐν Ῥώμῃ διατρίβοντες πλὴν τῶν τὴν νῦν Ἰταλίαν οἰκούντων ἐξέπεσον Γαίου τινὸς Παππίου δημάρχου γνώμη· ἐπειδὴ ἐξεπόλαζον καὶ οὐκ ἔδókουν ἐπιτήδευοι σφίσιν εἶναι ξυνοικεῖν; (4) Cic. *Ad Att.* iv. 16. 12: "absoluto

Gabinio stomachantes alii iudices hora post Antiochum Gabinium nescio quem, e Sopholidis pictoribus, libertum atque accensum Gabinii, lege Papia condemnarunt"; (5) Cic. *Arch.* 10: "cum ceteri non modo post civitatem datam sed etiam post legem Papiam aliquo modo in eorum municipiorum tabulas inrepserunt, hic qui ne utitur quidem illis in quibus est scriptus, quod semper se Heracliensem esse voluit, reicietur?"; (6) Cic. *Balb.* 52: "iudices cum prae se ferrent palamque loquerentur, quid essent de lege Papia de M. Cassio Mamertinis repetentibus iudicaturi, Mamertini publice suscepta causa destiterunt. Multi in civitatem recepti ex liberis foederatisque populis sunt; nemo umquam de civitate accusatus, quod aut populus fundus factus non esset, aut quod foedere civitatis mutandae ius impediretur"; (7) Cic. *De off.* iii. 11. 47, cited above; (8) Valerius Maximus iii. 4. 5: "Non parvus consulatus rubor M. Perpenna est, utpote [quam] consul ante quam civis, sed in bello gerendo utilior aliquanto rei publicae Varrone imperator: regem enim Aristonicum cepit Crassianaeque stragis punitor extitit, cum interim, cuius vita triumphavit, mors Papia lege damnata est: namque patrem illius, nihil ad se pertinentia civis Romani iura complexum Sabelli iudicio petitem redire in pristinas sedes coegerunt. Ita M. Perpennae nomen adumbratum, falsus consulatus, caliginis simile imperium, caducus triumphus, taliena in urbe improbe peregrinatus est"; (9) this law was undoubtedly in Cicero's mind when he wrote, *De leg. agr.* i. 4. 13: "Hic tamen excipit Pompeium simillime, ut mihi videtur, atque ut illa lege, qua peregrini Roma eiciuntur, Glaucippus excipitur."

Of these passages, the first, written by a scholiast, asserts explicitly that Archias was being prosecuted on the ground that he had illegally assumed the rights that belonged exclusively to Roman citizens. The second scholium, no doubt written by the same hand, is less convincing, but contains one or two fairly clear indications. The word *causa* is used more appropriately of a suit at law than of an investigation. Also the interesting fact that the case was heard by Q. Cicero in his praetorship is suggestive of the situation, but is not conclusive. The difficulty here lies in the fact that we do not know the functions of a single praetor of this year. The names of four of the praetors are known, namely, Quintus Cicero, Julius Caesar,

M. Calpurnius, and C. Vergilius. Probably also M. Valerius Messala held the office in this year. We are told that Q. Cicero went to Bruttium, undoubtedly early in the year, to subdue the remaining Catilinarian conspirators,¹ but no further information is given in regard to his duties or functions during the year. Our ignorance on these points is particularly unfortunate, for if we had as much information about the activities of the praetors of this year as we have about those of other years the question of the contents of the Papian law might be settled without further difficulty.

As if to offset the statements made by the scholiast, the sentence cited from Dio Cassius asserts very clearly that the object of the law of Papius was the expulsion of those who did not have legal residence in Italy. Now this introduces an interesting new phase of the matter. Since the enactment of the Licinian-Mucian law the franchise had been extended to almost all inhabitants of Italy. As a result, all of these would be exempt from the operation of a law passed at the date of the Papian law. And yet whatever decision one may reach concerning the purpose of the law of Papius, nobody can believe that Dio's opinion is correct. It would be absurd to think that for a period of at least fifteen years inhabitants of the provinces, as well as those who lived outside the Roman Empire, were forbidden to take up their residence in Rome. And yet that is what we are forced to believe if we accept the statement of Dio. There were undoubtedly many persons from all parts of the civilized world living in Rome in these years, and no effort was made to expel them. Naturally the five known cases arising under this law are concerned with persons who came from the provinces or from beyond the empire. Archias was born in Antioch, then outside the Roman Empire; Balbus was born in Gades, a city in one of the provinces of Spain; another inhabitant of Gades was prosecuted before the case of Balbus arose;² Cassius came from Messana, in the province of Sicily;³ a freedman of Gabinius, called Antiochus, is unknown, but the

¹ Orosius vi. 6.

² Cic. *Balb.* 32: "ipsae [i.e., leges Romanae] enim te a cognitione sua iudicio publico reppulerunt." It should be noted that those who regard these cases as mere investigations hold that this person was a Roman citizen who had lost his citizenship as the result of a criminal conviction. But in that case he would have no right to appear as a prosecutor in a Roman court.

³ Cic. *Balb.* 38, 52.

name implies that he was a slave from Syria, which had been recently organized as a province, and of which Gabinus had been governor.

Cicero mentions the Papian law four times by name. In the letter to Atticus he simply narrates an interesting episode, but the word *condemnarunt* is highly significant, for it clearly implies a criminal prosecution, and not a mere investigation. The other three passages point decisively to a connection between the law of Papius and the rights of citizenship, in such a way that the contents of the passages cited are quite out of harmony with the idea that the law was intended to secure the departure of aliens from Rome. In the oration for Archias he says nothing about expulsion, but asserts that names had fraudulently appeared in municipal lists, and it is to be presumed that they had been transferred thence to the lists of the Roman censors, and should be expunged. Indirectly this remark is of considerable importance. Cicero expresses his surprise, or expects his hearers to be surprised, at the fact that even after the enactment of the Papian law some aliens had secured the fraudulent insertion of their names in these lists. The surprising thing is that they should have ventured to do this in spite of the Papian law. But if the law contemplated only a general expulsion of foreigners, they would have everything to gain and nothing to lose by this act. For if they succeeded in avoiding the suspicion of having illegally inserted their names in the municipal lists, they might make it appear that they were citizens, and thus escape expulsion. On the other hand, if their very act was an offense, and might lead to a criminal prosecution, it would be surprising that they should take such a risk, but apparently that is just what they did. Hence the speaker's surprise at their boldness. When Cicero, in the speech for Balbus, says that many had received the rights of citizenship, and that none was ever accused of false assumption of civic rights, on the ground of the refusal of his native town to ratify his citizenship, or because of special agreements in a treaty with Rome, his words would be utterly meaningless in this speech unless the great feature of the Papian law was that it made provision for prosecutions because of an alleged usurpation.

In the *De officiis* Cicero seems to imply a second element in the law. He recognized the propriety of forbidding the franchise to those

not legally qualified; at the same time he says that the laws of Pennus and Papius were broader in their application than that of Crassus and Scaevola. How this can be reconciled with the other accounts of the law by Cicero is not clear, but it may be suggested, assuming that Cicero is here careful in his language, that Papius was responsible for two enactments. The first took cognizance of a definite act that was illegal, namely, the assumption of the rights of a Roman citizen by one to whom they had not been granted in any of the ordinary ways. But when this proved tedious and difficult of execution, a second proposal was made, to the effect that all non-residents of Italy should be expelled. Such a law would be more easily enforced in any specific case, but if it was actually attempted it was certainly allowed to lapse very quickly, and only the other portion of this legislation remained in force. This interpretation suits admirably the words of Cicero in his speech for the Agrarian law. There he uses the present tense *eiciuntur*, which would be impossible unless actual expulsion were being practiced.

It is difficult to make much out of the story told by Valerius Maximus. He narrates the pathetic history of M. Perpenna, who was consul in 130 B.C., and died in the following year. Thus, in any case, the words *ante quam* cannot be taken literally. Moreover, it was his father who was condemned and exiled from the city. It is therefore quite impossible that he should have been condemned under the Papian law. For this reason it has been suggested that *Iunia lege* should be substituted for *Papia lege*, and that the elder Perpenna was prosecuted on a charge of extortion, and not because of any connection with a foreign origin. In that case the phrase *in pristinas sedes* need cause no difficulty, for the name seems to show that the family was of Etruscan descent, and this man probably went back to the early home of his family after his condemnation. Valerius seems to be in error on a further point. He implies a severe penalty upon conviction under the Papian law. In no other place do we derive the idea that there was a penalty beyond exclusion from civic privileges. The first indication of a definite punishment arises in the reign of Claudius, who is said to have fixed the penalty of death upon one who was found guilty of this offense.¹ Omitting, therefore,

¹ Suet. *Claud.* 25: "civitatem Romanam usurpantes in campo Esquilino securi percussit"; *ibid.* 15: "peregrinitatis reum . . . togatumne an palliatum dicere

the story of Perpenna, the scholiast in two places and Cicero in three give the narrower interpretation of the scope of the Papian law, while Dio Cassius and two passages in Cicero seem to express a different view. With this divergence in the sources, it becomes necessary to turn to the two speeches of Cicero delivered in actual cases which arose, and see what the internal evidence may be that will be of assistance.

So far as the facts can be ascertained, the form of trial in the cases arising under the Papian law was the form prevailing in the criminal courts. The procedure to some extent resembled that which would probably be adopted for an official hearing or a public investigation. But the parallel breaks down in several respects.

Cicero calls the case in which Archias was concerned a *quaestio legitima* and a *iudicium publicum*,¹ and the similar case of the unnamed prosecutor of Balbus is also called a *iudicium publicum*.² This is the ordinary expression for a criminal case. It is a trial for the determination of a matter which had been the definite subject of legislation, or of a senatorial decree,³ and is used in contrast with *iudicium privatum*, which sometimes occurs in the sense of a private suit.⁴ Thus, Julius Caesar legislated upon the subject of rioting and upon that of assault, and the two offenses were distinguished by the names *vis publica* and *vis privata*.⁵ Other variations of the name are *crimen legitimum*⁶ and *quaestio publica*,⁷ both meaning a criminal suit. It is necessary, therefore, to assume that the expression *quaestio legitima*, which Cicero uses as a synonymous term, also means a criminal case. And this is upheld by the use of the term in the only other place where it seems to occur, for it there describes a criminal charge of poisoning.⁸

causam oporteret"; Arrian *Diss. Epict.* iii. 24. 24: οἱ τῆς Ῥωμαίων πολιτείας καταφενδόμενοι κολάσσονται πικρῶς.

¹ Arch. 3.

² Balb. 32.

³ Macer, *Dig.* xlvii. 15. 3. 3.: "iudicium publicum non est, quia neque lege aliqua de hac re cautum est, neque per senatus consultum." Cf. Papinian, *Dig.* i. 21. 1: "cum publici iudicii habeant executionem lege vel senatus consulto delegatam." Cf. also *Dig.* xlviii. 1. 1: "non omnia iudicia, in quibus crimen vertitur, et publica sunt, sed ea tantum, quae ex legibus iudiciorum publicorum veniunt."

⁴ Ulpian, *Dig.* xlvii. 15. 1: "sive privato iudicio sive publico praevaricatus sit."

⁵ *Dig.* xlviii. 6; xlviii. 7.

⁶ Ulpian, *Dig.* xlvii. 20. 3. 2.

⁷ Pomponius, *Dig.* i. 2. 2. 32; Cic. *Cael.* 29.

⁸ Cic. *Cluent.* 2: "legitimae venefici quaestionis."

Still more conclusive that the cases of Archias and Balbus were based on criminal charges is Cicero's use of the word *rēus*.¹ The scholiast uses the same word in describing the Archias situation. Of course the word can be used of both public and private cases, but the essential fact, wherever the word occurs in forensic literature, is that it always denotes the defendant.² It is impossible to assume that Archias and Balbus were prosecuted in private suits, even under the supposition that the Papian law had the expulsion of foreigners as its sole object. According to this hypothesis we should be forced to believe that, when the order came for foreigners to depart from Rome, Archias remained quiet until suit was brought against him to compel him to obey the order. But this is quite contrary to all accepted belief regarding the procedure under the laws to expel foreigners. It is commonly held that the names of those persons of foreign birth who were required to leave were entered in a list, and that one whose name appeared there had the right to protest. In these circumstances Archias would be in the position of one protesting rather than in that of a defendant. Perhaps one should not lay too much stress upon the use by Cicero of the words *defendo*³ and *accuso*,⁴ together with the various derivatives of the latter, *accusator*,⁵ *accusatus*,⁶ and *accusatio*,⁷ for they might be used loosely of one who would cause suffering and of one who would be a sufferer in case a suit or an investigation went against him. But it seems impossible to use the phrase *in iudicium vocatus*⁸ in any but the technical sense of a person who is a genuine defendant in a criminal suit.⁹

The various expressions relating to the personnel of the court are scarcely conclusive. In the case of Archias the presiding officer was a praetor, and that was true also after the enactment of 177 B.C., when prosecution was threatened against those who refused to obey

¹ Arch. 3; Balb. 65.

² Cic. *De orat.* ii. 43. 183; Festus, p. 289; Quint. vi. 1. 36. The word is frequent in criminal orations; for its use in private cases, cf. Cic. *Rosc. Com.* 15; *Quinct.* 9; but this is rare.

³ Balb. 1.

⁴ *Ibid.* 6, 7, 8, 36.

⁵ *Ibid.* 49.

⁶ *Ibid.* 48.

⁷ *Ibid.* 52.

⁸ *Ibid.* 6, 48, 65.

⁹ The following are examples from Cicero's criminal speeches: *Sext. Rosc.* 113; *In Caec.* 6, 69; *Verr. act. pr.* 35; i. 34, 108; ii. 1, 3, 217; iv. 25, 104; *Font.* 14, 34; *Cluent.* 9, 88, 148, 153; *Rab.* 8, 26, 31; *Sext.* 75; *Cael.* 1, 47, 72, 78; *Milo* 40. In other speeches, but in the same sense: *De domo* 88; *Deiot.* 31; *Phil.* i. 21.

the executive decree that they should leave Rome. The jury is addressed regularly by the term *iudices*.¹ In civil cases the ordinary word for jurors is *recuperatores*,² with sometimes a variant phrase *qui in consilio sunt*,³ although the latter is used also in criminal cases.⁴ It is clear that the court was a permanent one, for Cicero mentions a case parallel to that of Balbus, which had been heard by the same jury only a short time prior to the case of Balbus.⁵ But there might be a permanent court for investigation, as well as one for prosecution, although an investigating court is not mentioned in 177 B.C. It is equally clear that those who lost their cases in this court were not expelled from Rome, for the citizen of Gades, who later prosecuted Balbus, had himself been tried for the same offense, and had been convicted.⁶ And yet he was now in Rome, and was conducting the prosecution of Balbus. Why he took upon himself the burden of this prosecution we are not informed. There is no evidence that one who successfully conducted a prosecution on these grounds gained the citizenship, or any other advantage. In one case the Mamertini, as a state, had prosecuted in Rome one of their own citizens,⁷ but in the case of Balbus the people of Gades had given evidence that Balbus was a Roman citizen, and looked with disfavor upon the suit against him.⁸ If, then, these cases were merely for the purpose of determining whether a person should be expelled from Rome, the Gaditanus who prosecuted Balbus would have no right to remain in Rome after his own conviction. And if that is true, we are obliged to assume that the Romans generously allowed the banished man to return in order to conduct this case. But that is extremely improbable.

One matter appearing in the trial of Archias, not offered in evidence, but revealed in the arguments of the prosecuting counsel, has seemed to some scholars to point in the opposite direction. It is contended that Grattius argued that Archias was not, even in his own estimation, a Roman citizen, as shown by the fact that he had availed

¹ *Arch.* 1, 3, 28, 32; *Balb.* 2, 4, 7, 8, 10, etc.; *Ad Att.* iv. 18, 4.

² *Cic. Tull.* 16, 26; *Caecina* 6, 10, 14, 73, 77.

³ *Cic. Quinct.* 4: "te et hos, qui tibi in consilio sunt"; 91. Cf. also *Rosc. Com.* 12: "utinam sederet in consilio C. Pisonis."

⁴ *Cic. Verr. act. pr.* 29.

⁵ *Balb.* 4.

⁶ *Ibid.* 32, 41.

⁷ *Ibid.* 52.

⁸ *Ibid.* 39.

himself of none of the rights that belonged to Roman citizenship.¹ Now it was to Cicero's interest to show that Archias was possessed of the citizenship and had always enjoyed a citizen's privileges with the approval of those with whom he had business, or legal, relations. He offers evidence, therefore, that Archias had made wills, received inheritances, and performed other functions that were permissible only to citizens. It is noteworthy, however, that Cicero does not state that Archias ever voted. Evidently he could not have voted, for his name had never appeared in the censors' lists, and this would exclude him from being assigned to any one of the tribes.

But why should Grattius contend that Archias was not, even in his own estimation, a Roman citizen? The reply is sometimes made that Grattius was trying to prove that Archias was a foreigner, and should, therefore, be expelled from Rome by the operation of the Papian law. And his case would be strongly supported by proving that Archias had never acted the part of a citizen, which would be an admission by Archias himself that he was not qualified so to act. If, however, Grattius were endeavoring to prove that Archias had illegally usurped civic rights, it would be to his interest to admit all the acts of Archias that would tend to show that he had done things which a foreigner was not privileged to do.

But this interpretation misses the whole point of the debate between the prosecution and the defense, and especially fails to translate adequately the two phrases *iam tum* and *eis temporibus*. Grattius challenges the defense to prove that Archias is a citizen. He claims that the defense is incapable of producing the only documentary evidence that would be acceptable and sufficient. The name of Archias was not on record in Heraclia, nor was it in either of the last two censors' lists. This, Grattius maintains, is sufficient proof that

¹ Arch. 11 (Clark's text): "Sed, quoniam census non ius civitatis confirmat ac tantum modo indicat eum qui sit census ita se iam tum gessisse, pro cive, eis temporibus is quem tu criminaris ne ipsius quidem iudicio in civium Romanorum iure esse versatum et testamentum saepe fecit nostris legibus, et adiit hereditates civium Romanorum, et in beneficiis ad aerarium delatus est a L. Lucullo pro consule." Neither Müller nor Baiter and Kayser insert *is*, and Baiter and Kayser change *quem* to *quibus*, and bracket *ita*. Although these changes make a slight difference in the syntax of the phrase *pro cive*, they do not alter the meaning of the sentence essentially. It will be seen from the subsequent argument that the vital points in the sentence are *iam tum* and *eis temporibus*, neither of which is affected by the varied punctuation, or reading, of the best texts.

Archias was not a citizen, and Archias acknowledged it by refraining for many years from active participation in civic affairs. But recently, Grattius says, Archias had begun to regard himself as a Roman citizen, and to usurp the privileges of citizenship, and that is why the Papian law is invoked against him. Cicero replies that Archias was a citizen all the time, but that records of his citizenship could not be produced, and that for sufficient reason. However, Grattius was mistaken in saying that for many years Archias had done nothing to indicate his belief that he was a citizen, for even in those years, *eis temporibus*, he had done many things, and these had been accepted by the Roman officials. There was therefore nothing new in the attitude of Archias, and nothing to criticize in his recent actions which would not apply to his life for nearly thirty years.

NOTES AND DISCUSSIONS

MAGNUM JOVIS INCREMENTUM, *Ciris* 398, AND VERG. *Ec.* iv. 49

Very much has been written¹ about the meaning of the word *incrementum*, and my only excuse for returning to the problem derives from chancing upon the rare word in an inscription which seems not to have been cited in previous discussions.

Now the word *incrementum* has various meanings. It may denote the process of growth (*incrementa vitium*, Cic. *De Sen.* 52) a meaning not applicable to our passage. It may refer to a concrete thing which is viewed as increasing the size or value of something else (*incremento renovatur*, Curt., V, 1, 40); accordingly Cartault interprets the Vergilian line: "Jupiter sera grandi par la naissance d'un tel enfant." It may be the seed or germ which produces growth into full fruition (the result being expressed by an objective genitive, *populi incrementa futuri*, Ov. *Met.* iii. 103) and this is adopted by most commentators as the meaning² in Vergil. However these interpretations are obviously not consonant with the general tone of the poem, since they lay stress upon the future apotheosis of the child. The child seems to be present, not as the creator of the golden age, but as marking the age and progress of the new era. A fourth interpretation, *incrementum* = "child," or "offspring," an old but rarely adopted solution of the passage, is supported by the inscription in question as well as by two or three other occurrences of the word. The inscription (*CIL*, VI, 13213) reads:

D. M.

M. Aur. Sabinus, cui fuit et signum Vagulus,
inter incrementa coaequalium sui temporis
vita incomparabilis, dulcissimus filius.

The subject of the inscription is a child as his *signum* shows, hence the *incrementa* are also "children." The inscription is apparently not early, to judge from the language and the name Aurelius. We might therefore hesitate to use it for comment upon Vergil, were it not that Servius (*Ad Ec.* iv. 49) had remarked that Vergil was using a colloquial word which was permissible in bucolic poetry.

Now Marini in *Atti dei Fratelli Arvali*, p. 425 (quoted by Mayor in *Virgil's Mess. Eclogue*, p. 140) has cited another inscription (= *CIL*, VI,

¹ See Forbiger and Conington on *Ec.* iv. 49; also Munro in *Jour. of Class. and Sacred Phil.*, IV, 290; Skutsch, *Gallus und Vergil*, p. 81, and *Aus Vergil's Frühzeit*, pp. 148 ff.; Mayor and Fowler in *Vergil's Messianic Eclogue*, pp. 61 ff., 112, 139.

² Munro: "the germ of a future Juppiter"; Mayor: "the promise of a Jove to be"; Skutsch: "ein künftiger Gott."

8984) and Apuleius, *Metam.* v. 28, two examples of the word in which the meaning is clearly "child." The inscription reads in part:

Niceratus Augustorum ñ ser. . . .
fecit sibi et
duobus incrementis, Victori et
Chrysomallo.

In this epitaph, which probably belongs to the second century, the two "incrementa" are apparently the children of an imperial *paedagogus*. In Apuleius *Met.* v. 28, there is some doubt about the tone of the word, Munro giving it what he assumes to be the etymological meaning (from *incresco*) takes it as a term of contempt; "that little abortion." This, however, seems to miss the point of the comedy. When Venus finds herself a mother-in-law, a fact that must betray her years, her first impulse is to insist that Cupid is still beardless (*investem, hoc aetati. v. 1er*), in fact a mere child, *illud incrementum!* Finally an inscription cited by Mayor but, I fear, mistranslated by him (*op. cit.*, p. 139), seems to me to support this meaning. In *CIL*, X, 5853 we find *daretur pueris, curiae incrementis, crustulum*. Mayor supposes this to mean: "boys who would hereafter constitute the Town Council," a difficult interpretation since the *curia* was constituted of those who had been elected to the duumviral offices. The phrase must apparently mean: "boys, who are the offspring of decuriones."

We have then four passages in which the word means "child" or "offspring," and this is the most natural interpretation of the word in Vergil, if we remember that Vergil does not hesitate to call Augustus the terrestrial Jove. And this view of the line is strongly supported by Martial's imitation (vi. 3. 2) which translates the word by *puer*. Note the very close imitation:

Adgredere
Cara deum suboles, magnum Jovis incrementum [Vergil],
Nascere
Vera deum suboles, nascere magne puer [Martial].

Finally this meaning has a peculiar fitness for the line in the *Ciris*, which is usually assumed to be the original of the passage in the Eclogue. The word apparently has the root *√ker*, found in *κόρος* and *Διὸς κοῦροι*. It is noteworthy that in *Ciris* 398, the

cara Jovis suboles, magnum Jovis incrementum

are in fact the *Διὸς κοῦροι*, so that the Latin phrase is not only a translation of the Greek, but an exact etymological equivalent. Here surely the only reasonable translation of the word is "offspring."

What has enticed the commentators to an incongruous interpretation of our passage is probably a feeling frequently expressed in our handbooks, that nouns in *-mentum* are apt to have an active meaning. However a recent study of such nouns (Cressman, *The Semantics of -mentum, -bulum*,

and -culum) has called attention to the fact that a no small number of such nouns denote the result of the action, as well as the instrument, or the action, as is the case with *fragmentum*, *caementum*, *ramentum*, *detrimentum*; and the *Thesaurus* has two instances of *crementum* = "offspring."

There is a passage in the *Digest* (33, 8, 8, cited from Ulpian) which may give a clue to the way the concrete meaning "offspring" arose: "*incrementa ex rebus peculiaribus . . . ut puta partus ancillarum, vel fetus pecorum*," i.e., the *incrementa* are the offspring of slave women and cattle. From this usage, which obviously belonged to the early agricultural days of Rome, it is not difficult to imagine how in peasant-language the word acquired a specialized meaning of human offspring in general—and Servius testifies to the fact that Vergil's usage was suited to bucolic diction.

It seems then that we need not strain the root meaning of *incrementum* into far-fetched interpretations of the two passages cited. The poet of the *Ciris*—very possibly the youthful Vergil—was enough of an Alexandrian to use a word better known in the cottage than in the palace, and probably *doctus* enough to recognize the equivalence of Διὸς κοῖτοι and Jovis incrementum in the sense of offspring of Jove. In the Eclogue, Vergil repeated the line as he so often did, and in the same simple sense, but applying it to a child of the *praesens divus*. The fact that the second half of the line is then almost a repetition of the sense of the first half need hardly disturb anyone who knows Vergil's fondness for parallelism in sentiment.

This note does not add decisive evidence upon any of the important questions relating to the fourth Eclogue, but if *incrementum* means offspring I am inclined to think that the child referred to was the expected child of Augustus, and furthermore that the line in the Eclogue was written subsequent to the *Ciris*.

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UDAS ANTE FORES: *Persius* v. 165-66

In the fifth satire of Persius, 166-74, the exclusion scene in the Eunuchus of Terence, Act I, scene 1, is used following the precedent of Horace *Sat.* ii. 3. 259-71 as a stock example of the slavery to love. The lines 162-66 read as follows:

crudum Chaerestratus unguem
adrodens ait haec—an siccis dedecus obstem
cognatis? An rem patriam rumore sinistro
linen ad obscaenum frangam, dum Chrysidis udas
ebrius ante fores exstincta cum face canto?

Here the phrase *udas ante fores* is, as Gildersleeve characteristically remarks, "wet with the sweat of the commentators of Persius."

Before taking up the current interpretations of the phrase it is essential to notice that all recent editors regard these lines as an allusion to a παρακλανισθῆναι. At first sight this interpretation in view of *canto* seems the

only natural one. Thus Gildersleeve: "Antique erotic literature is full of the caterwaulings of excluded lovers." The best-known examples of this genre in Latin literature are Tibullus 1, 2; Propertius 1, 16; Horace *Carm.* iii. 10; Ovid *Amores* i. 6. The essential procedure of the excluded lover is also sketched in Lucretius iv. 1179 ff.; Catullus 63, 65; Horace *Epodes* xi. 19-22; Ovid *Metam.* xiv. 709; *Ars Am.* ii. 237.

We find the commentators, following the variant details of such scenes, interpreting *udas* as: (1) wet with unguents (cf. Lucretius iv. 1179 ff.); (2) with wine (Gildersleeve who compares Horace *Carm.* i. 7. 22); (3) with tears (Propertius i. 16. 4); Ovid *Am.* i. 6. 18; (4) with rain (Tibullus i. 2. 31-32); Horace *Carm.* iii. 10, 19-20; Ovid *Ars Am.* ii. 237.¹

Thus the modern editors, though differing as to the precise interpretation of *udas*, are all united in regarding the scene as one wholly painted in the pathetic colors of erotic poetry. I believe this view is misleading. The existence of a parallel scene in the satiric-comic tradition has been obscured. The whole context, however, shows that the allusion to the lover's strain (*canto*) is presented from the point of view of New Comedy and satire, though doubtless the comic scene was not uninfluenced by the more fully formulated scenes of erotic literature, and may even have taken its *genesis* from them. Thus our whole passage is a working over of the *Eunuchus*, Act I, scene 1. Persius uses the scene following the Horatian precedent of satire, ii. 3, 259-71, just as Horace probably was influenced by Lucilius' use of the scene in a satire in book xvii, fragments 729, 737, 731, 735. The lover is represented in Menander, Lucilius, Horace, Persius as an absolute slave to the fickle whims of his mistress, and as such held up to ridicule. Cicero's *Paradoxa Stoicorum* v. 36 gives the essential features of such scenes—the inconsistency and irrationality of the feminine rule to which masculine reason is in slavish subjection.

Such is the general setting of the passage, but the key to the meaning of the phrase *udas ante fores* is found rather in two other passages in Lucilius and Horace. Lucilius xxix, 2 fragments 837, 839, 840, 843, 844, 845, elaborates upon the attempt of the excluded lover to break into the house with his slave and the defense of the occupants. In 841 and 845 we have the particular turn which gives the key to the interpretation of the passage of Persius. Thus in 841:

... u . . . u has fenestris in caput
deiciunt qui prope ad ostium aspiraverint.

That the allusion is to a deluge of water² poured upon the lover from the windows becomes clear from a comparison with 845 and the Horatian passage. 845 reads:

Gnato, quid actum est? depilati omnes sumus.

¹Of recent editors of Persius, Ramorino says unguents and tears, Albini adds water (?) to these two. Némethy and Van Wageningen say rain.

²*Has* perhaps refers to some such word *ollas*; cf. Marx comment *ad loc*; also Juvenal iii. 376 ff.

Here the commentary of Marx rightly explains the *depilati* as referring to the use of hot water in the process of plucking fowls. Cf. Apicius vi. 221. We have precisely the same scene in Horace *Sat.* ii. 7, 88-91:

potesne
ex his ut proprium quid noscere? quinque talenta
poscit te mulier, vexat foribusque repulsum
perfundit gelida, rursus vocat. eripe turpi
colla iugo, "liber, liber sum." dic age.

Since, therefore, I have shown the existence in the satiric tradition of Lucilius and Horace of a scene in which hot or cold water is poured upon the head of the excluded lover, it seems probable that this is the explanation of the phrase *udas ante fores* in Persius.

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NOTE ON STOBÆUS *Eclog.* II. 104. 6 W

Εἶναι δὲ καὶ ἀχάριστον, οὔτε πρὸς ἀνταπόδοσιν χάριτος οἰκείως ἔχοντα οὔτε πρὸς μετάδοσιν διὰ τὸ μήτε κοινῶς τι ποιεῖν μήτε φιλικῶς μὴτ' ἀμελετήτως.

The fool as contrasted with the wise man is incapable of *χάρις* because he can do nothing generously, in friendly wise, or—with neglect of preparation and training. This is obviously impossible. The third negatived adverb must, like the other two, designate a good quality denied to the fool. Wachsmuth's apparatus records various unsatisfactory conjectures: ἀμελλήτως vel μελετήτως Heeren, εὐμελετήτως Gaisford, τημελήτως Meineke. The true reading is, I think, ἀμεταμελήτως, "without repenting." That the fool always repents and the wise man never, is common doctrine from Plato (*Rep.* 577E) to William Morris. It is also Stoic doctrine; cf. Stobæus *Eclogue* ii. 113. 5: οὐδὲ μετανοεῖν δ' ὑπολαμβάνουσι τὸν νοῦν ἔχοντα; 102. 22, ὁ δὲ φαῦλος . . . εὐμετάπτωτος ὃν καὶ παρ' ἑκάστα μεταμελεία συνεχόμενος; Seneca *De beneficiis* iv. 34: "Non mutat sapiens consilium . . . ideo numquam illum poenitentia subit."

PAUL SHOREY

WAS ARRIAN GOVERNOR OF SYRIA?

The information available about the official career of Arrian, the historian whose chief work is the principal source for the history of Alexander the great, ends with the year 137, in which he left his position as governor of Cappadocia. In 147-148 he is found as archon at Athens; but it is not known whether during the previous ten years he remained in government service or not.¹ It does not seem at all probable, however, that Hadrian would have put an end to his career after his great service in driving back a barbarian invasion of the province. It is much more probable that Hadrian would have rewarded him with higher office.

¹ Pauly-Wissowa II, 1230 ff.; *Prosop.*, I. 243; *IGR*, III, 111; *CIL*, X, 6006.

Now Lucian, *De Morte Peregr.* 14, mentions a governor of Syria, whose name he does not give, in these words: πλὴν ἄλλ' ὁ Περειγρίνιος ἀφείθη ὑπὸ τοῦ τότε τῆς Συρίας ἀρχόντος, ἀνδρὸς φιλοσοφία χαίροντος, ὃς συνεῖς τὴν ἀπόνοιαν αὐτοῦ καὶ ὅτι δέξαιτ' ἂν ἀποθανεῖν, ὡς δόξαν ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἀπολίποι, ἀφῆκεν αὐτὸν οὐδὲ τῆς κολάσεως ὑπολαβὼν ἄξιον. This governor's term in Syria can be dated very roughly between 135 and 150:¹ that is, a period immediately succeeding Arrian's term in Cappadocia. Lucian, it will be noticed, describes the governor as a man interested in philosophy. From this passage it is possible, though certainly not necessary, to infer that Lucian knew him personally. Lucian was, in all probability, acquainted with Arrian,² and he mentions as a distinguishing term the fact that Arrian was a disciple of Epictetus,³ where the term is not at all called for by the subject which he is treating.

The advance from governorship of Cappadocia to that of Syria was quite often made in the second century. In a period of sixty years, 117-175, covering the time of Arrian's official career, three certain cases are known.⁴ We may notice in particular that Arrian's successor in Cappadocia, Burbuleius Ligarianus, next served a term as governor of Syria.⁵ From this point of view it would then have been a perfectly regular advance for Arrian to pass from Cappadocia to Syria. In the list of the governors of Syria there is a period in which one term could be nicely placed, immediately before Ligarianus, who followed Arrian in Cappadocia, and after Iulius Severus.⁶ To sum up, we find a governor of Syria, who is not named, in the period just following Arrian's term in Cappadocia. This governor was perhaps an acquaintance of Lucian; at all events, he was interested in philosophy. Arrian was an acquaintance of Lucian, and was interested in philosophy. The step from Cappadocia to Syria was regular in this period. Arrian's later career is quite unknown, but as governor of Cappadocia he was in line, so to speak, for the governorship of Syria. The identification of Arrian with this unknown governor of Syria is therefore well within the range of the possible, even though it can not be proved with certainty.

G. A. HARRER

CHAPEL HILL, N.C.
February 18, 1916

AESCHYLUS *Supplices* 518

Von Wilamowitz follows Weil and Tucker in reading στεῖχω for the meaningless ΠΙΕΤΩ of the manuscripts. This is unquestionably better than Wecklein's πατῶ. But surely Aeschylus did not write στεῖχω, which is as

¹ My dissertation, *Studies in Syria*, p. 28.

² Nissen, *Rh.M.*, XLIII (1888), p. 241.

³ *Alexander*, 2: καὶ Ἀρριανὸς γὰρ ὁ τοῦ Ἐπικτήτου μαθητῆς.

⁴ My dissertation, pp. 24, 27, and 36.

⁵ *CIL*, X, 6006.

⁶ My dissertation, pp. 27-28.

far from the MS reading as *σπεύσω* (Martin, Heimsoeth), *ἔρπω* (Schneider), *κίω* (Zakas). Turnebus' *παίω* is precluded by the sense.

It seems to me that ΠΙΕΤΩ was originally ΦΟΙΤΩ. The error was due, in the first place, probably to a *Sprachfehler*, and in a very early period, when the word was pronounced π'οιτῶ. Then by iotacism this became πειτῶ, whence, by an inadvertent metathesis of vowels, πειτῶ.

For the meaning compare I 10, φοίτα κηρύκεσσι κελεύων; B 779, φοίτων ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα κατὰ στρατόν; M 266, κελευτιόωντ' παντόσε φοιτήτην; E.M. 797, 44, σημαίνει τὸ ὄρμῳ καὶ παραγίνεται. This verb, too, fits in well with the plural λαούς (τοὺς πολίτας ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα).

J. E. HARRY

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PLAUTUS *Amph.* 551 FF. AND SIMULTANEOUS ACTION IN ROMAN COMEDY

In the considerable amount of recent writing on ancient stage conventions, the technique of continuous action, the dramatic unities, and other related themes, I have not observed that attention has been called to one small detail of exercise of imagination required by the playwright of the spectator. The *Amphitruo* of Plautus will furnish a convenient example of the matter I have in mind. In vss. 551-632 *Amphitruo* and *Sosia* wrangle on the stage about the slave's incredible report of a double of himself who has sent him away with a flea in his lug from *Amphitruo's* house, to which he had been dispatched from the harbor to announce the master's happy return from foreign parts and imminent arrival at his own home. In the verses that immediately follow (vss. 633-53) *Alcmena*, *Amphitruo's* wife, comes out of the door of the house, which evidently opens on the stage, and, standing there, soliloquizes for some moments on her own lot, with a few edifying moralizations at the end. When she concludes, *Amphitruo* and *Sosia* take up their talk again, without showing any signs of having seen or heard her. As they proceed, *Alcmena* observes them, and exclaims, "meus uir hic quidemst!" But her husband sees and hears nothing, merely telling *Sosia*, as he has done before, "sequare hac tu me." *Alcmena* interpolates a remark of surprise at *Amphitruo's* unexpected return after having bidden her farewell (as she supposes) that very morning. Then *Sosia* apparently sees her for the first time, and ventures upon some raillery with his yet unconscious master. Thereupon *Alcmena* comes forward to meet and greet him.

We are well acquainted in more modern drama with the somewhat stupid convention by which a character thinks aloud in an "aside" remark or a more extended soliloquy, whereby every man in the theater hears what must be supposed inaudible to the actor standing elbow to elbow with the speaker. This is common enough in the ancient drama also. *Alcmena's* monologue

and subsequent interpolated asides are samples of this demand upon the imagination of the auditor. But a further demand is made by Plautus in the passage under discussion. Amphitruo and his servant are of necessity represented as conversing on the stage within a few steps of the housdoor. But the conversation is suitable to the time and circumstances of their walk up to the city from the harbor. The repeated "sequere me" and its equivalents serve to mark and emphasize their progress along the street. But the setting of the stage, with its unchanging background, and the continuous action limit their actual, visible, and audible presence to the moment of their arrival at their goal, and their entire conversation must be carried on at this point. The auditor is required to draw on his imagination to extend it backward through the whole period of the journey from the port. Though the interlocutors stand and speak there close to the door, they must be conceived to be yet advancing at a considerable distance from it (cf., e.g., the running-scene in Plaut. *Trin.* 1008 ff.).

Furthermore we are evidently to understand that while the travelers are thus busily conversing as they walk forward, Alcmena comes out of the house and speaks her monologue. The two actions are simultaneous, though far separated in conceived space during part of the time. But the dramatist can help the audience to the necessary concept only by interrupting the dialogue of Amphitruo and Sosia to permit Alcmena to speak, and by supplying now and then a phrase to indicate time or motion (as in the "sequere me," etc.). We can only guess what "stage-business" the ancient actors used to help manufacture or support the required illusion. It must have been as insufficient as that accompanying "asides" nowadays. Equally futile and even confusing is the modern scene-division of the ancient verses.

I have set down this suggestion under a ponderous title, and with but a single illustration, in the thought that some young student might find it interesting to trace fully the technique and rationale of simultaneous action through ancient drama down into modern. It would seem to have some relation with the development of a strict act-and-scene division, and with the general question of dramatic unities in the wider sense. I have not thought it useful to point out or argue the particular matters in which I venture to differ from the views of Messrs. Ussing, Langen, Palmer, Leo, Prescott, Conrad, and others. I may only remark in conclusion that I see no sufficient reason for rejecting vss. 629-32, and most assuredly none for imagining that the playwright meant us to think of the dialogue between Amphitruo and Sosia in vss. 551-632 as taking place altogether at the harbor (while it was enacted actually before our eyes in front of Amphitruo's house), thus necessitating also a marked break and transfer of imagined scene at the moment of Alcmena's monologue; nor do I think that either Amphitruo or Sosia leaves the stage between vss. 551 and the greeting of Alcmena.

E. T. M.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Acharnians of Aristophanes. Edited from the MSS and Other Original Sources by RICHARD THOMAS ELLIOTT. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1914. Pp. xlv+241.

The *Acharnians* has fared well of late at the hands of British scholars: three editions of the play appeared within the space of five years, beginning with the excellent edition by Dr. Starkie in 1909. Unlike the others, the present work is strictly a critical edition of the text; for it the editor personally examined and collated all the fourteen manuscripts of the *Acharnians* in their respective libraries. "I may point out," he says, "that this is the only edition of a play of Aristophanes in which an editor has made verbatim collations of so many manuscripts; the largest number fully collated hitherto for a play of Aristophanes has been six by von Velsen for the *Equites* and six by several scholars for Zacher's edition of the *Pax*. Of the *Acharnians* no previous editor has made a full collation of even one manuscript from the original." To show the completeness and superiority of his record of the readings of the manuscripts, he prints side by side for comparison the critical apparatus for twenty lines of the *Acharnians* from his own edition and from that of Dr. Starkie. Further evidence for the text he has gathered from the abundant quotations from the play that occur in the scholia, Athenaeus, Suidas, and other later writers, many of them antedating our earliest manuscript. These quotations and the papyrus fragments from Hermopolis which are five centuries older than the Ravennas tend to strengthen a belief in the value and trustworthiness of the archetype of the extant manuscripts, which editors and critics, notably von Velsen, have hitherto underrated. Deprecating the multitude of conjectures that have found their way into the text, he offers but twelve of his own, eight of which he adopts in his text. None of these is particularly attractive, and some are poor, e.g., οὐκ ἀλαί (1093), μετ' ἀλγῶν (1095), and his conjecture in 645 which neglects the diaeresis no less than the reading of the manuscripts does. "But the main object of my present edition," he says, "has not been to make emendations, but to give as accurately as possible, and in a fuller form than has been hitherto available, the evidence of the text of the *Acharnians* still surviving in the fourteen manuscripts (so far as necessary), the Aldine, the papyrus fragments, the scholia, and the numerous quotations and references in other Greek and Latin writers."

In his Introduction Mr. Elliott sets forth his opinions as to the relations which the manuscripts in question sustain to one another, his conclusions

agreeing in the main with those of Dr. Cary in his article "The Manuscript Tradition of the Acharnenses," 1907. The dates of some of them he puts a century earlier than is customary. He adopts the symbols proposed by Professor J. W. White in the first volume of *Classical Philology* as designations of the manuscripts of Aristophanes, as did Dr. Starkie also; and from the same article he borrows the statement of the exact contents of each of the fourteen manuscripts. Three excursions conclude the volume: "Athenaeus' Text of Aristophanes" is a careful study of Athenaeus' quotations from Aristophanes with a view to showing their great importance for the establishment of the text of the comic poet; the second excursus is a reprint of the papyrus fragments of the *Acharnians* found in the excavations at Hermupolis; and the last is a scholarly discussion of the "Greek Dialects in Aristophanes."

Repetitions occur often; one that is particularly annoying by reason of its frequency is the statement of the divergent opinions as to the number of manuscripts of Aristophanes in Italian libraries. Despite some crudities here and there, the work is by its very nature exceedingly valuable, and justifies the immense amount of time and labor expended on its production.

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Aus der Offenbarung Johannis. Hellenistische Studien zum Weltbild der Apokalypse. By FRANZ BOLL. Leipzig und Berlin: Teubner, 1914. Pp. viii+151. M. 5.

The Book of Revelation has suffered many things of many interpreters. The fantastic imagery of the book invites free speculation regarding both its meaning and the sources which inspired the author's fancy. Boll is concerned with the second of these topics, and proceeds to show that the author derived his imagery in large measure from the astral notions current in his Hellenistic environment.

The treatment is selective rather than comprehensive. A detailed study of the Apocalypse as a whole is not attempted, nor are selected passages discussed exhaustively. Attention is centered upon those portions of the book where astrological inheritances are thought to be most in evidence. The method of Hellenistic apocalyptic, the general picture of the world as viewed by the writer of Revelation, and especially his notions about the astral regions are described briefly. Then follows a more thorough examination of selected passages. These are: (1) the vision of the bowls and trumpets (chaps. 8 and 16); (2) the first woe (9:1-12); (3) the apocalyptic horseman (chap. 6); (4) the queen of heaven (chap. 12). In each instance astral mythology of Hellenistic times is found to have furnished the author the chief materials for his composition. He was no mere copyist, or mechanical borrower, but a real author who had absorbed the popular notions of the

day. Thus Boll is in essential agreement with the *religionsgeschichtliche Schule* of interpretation, although he differs from certain well-known representatives of the school when he connects Revelation genetically with contemporary Hellenicism instead of looking to distant Babylonia for the sources of the apocalypticist's fanciful pictures.

This undoubtedly is a step in the right direction, but the problem needs much more thorough treatment than it receives in this monograph. The syncretism of Revelation is far too complex to be defined in terms of any single factor. Contemporary astral notions certainly did form one of its constituent elements, but it contained much more than these—more indeed that was of truly Hellenistic origin. For example, its proposed disposal of the persecuting emperor and his followers shows a considerable admixture of Orphic imagery, not to mention numerous Jewish features and certain new ventures of the imagination on the part of Christians. Unless the reader keeps in mind this larger task, this brochure may easily lead to an overestimate of the astrological elements in Revelation. This is a danger which Boll himself has not always succeeded in avoiding.

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Bibliotheca di Filologia Classica. Paolo Silenziario. By ALESSANDRO VENIERO. Catania: Francesco Battiato, 1916. Pp. vii+368.

The author, prosecuting the *eterno lavoro* of a translation of the entire anthology, was unable to find a monograph which would satisfy his curiosity about Paulus Silentiarius. He accordingly collected a library (catalogued in his appended bibliography) and made one. It consists of a readable introduction on the life of Paulus, on the age of Justinian in relation to literature, and on the epigrammatists of the sixth century, followed by an Italian translation of all the extant epigrams and the description of St. Sophia, etc., with critical and exegetical notes on the Greek text, which is not reprinted. The translation follows the original closely and is, so far as I have tested it, correct. Its literary quality I do not presume to estimate. The meter is apparently the elegiac of the original. I cannot "scan" it, nor can I scan Carducci's *Alcaics*. Does this indicate a fundamental difference in the rhythmic sense of the modern Italian classicist, or does he aim only at reproducing the general effect of ancient meters? The apparent impossibility of obtaining an intelligible answer to this simple question is one of many minor obstacles to the cosmopolitanization of culture. It will not worry the "verse libertines."

The commentary is a convenient compilation of the notes of Jacobs, Brunck, Dübner, Stadtmüller, Sternbach, Mallet, and Gollnisch, with additions from the author's own reading. There are many parallels from

Horace and from Latin elegiac and erotic poetry, which are sometimes treated as conscious imitations. Students of the anthology will welcome this useful, if not definitive, monograph.

PAUL SHOREY

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Olympiodorus fra Alexandria og Hans Commentar til Platons Phaidon.

By WILLIAM NORVIN. Gyldendalske Boghandel: København og Kristiania, 1915. Pp. 345.

Dr. Norvin, who edited the new Teubner text of Olympiodorus on the *Phaedo*, avails himself of the familiarity with his author thus acquired to write a book about him. Three hundred and forty-five pages of twentieth-century prose is a considerable gloss on 244 pages of sixth-century commentary on a single dialogue of Plato. But as Dr. Norvin points out, the neo-Platonic commentators in the mass represent an important movement of scholarship and thought. And his comprehensive study of the methods and ideas of Olympiodorus is a contribution to that complete and systematic interpretation of the whole school which is one of the chief tasks yet remaining for the historians of Greek philosophy.

Dr. Norvin's clear, fluent, and copious exposition makes pleasant and easy reading for anyone at all interested in the subject. An introductory chapter describes the neo-Platonic exegesis generally with discriminating characterization of the schools of Alexandria and Athens. Chaps. ii-ix inclusive follow the commentary step by step, and, though entirely intelligible by themselves, could be critically read and estimated only with the text of Olympiodorus in hand. Dr. Norvin's analysis is in the main faithful and exact, and amply sufficient for his purpose—the elucidation of Olympiodorus. He might perhaps have given a little more aid to the student who consults Olympiodorus only for assistance in the interpretation of the *Phaedo*. There is space for but one illustration—the well-known harmony passage, 93A f., which is, I think, rarely if ever quite correctly interpreted. It is in fact a characteristically subtle Platonic argument from hypothesis. The unreality of the hypothesis, as Plato points out in *Philebus* 42E, does not in such cases invalidate the reasoning. If harmony admits of more or less, the soul as harmony would be more of a harmony when further harmonized by the indwelling harmony of virtue. It would then be more a soul, which is impossible. Therefore it is not a harmony. The hypothesis that the soul is a harmony is refuted by the absurdity of its consequences. The hypothesis or assumption that harmony admits of more or less is merely a means to the end. The impossibility that works the refutation here might, if the argument had been differently turned, have been the impossibility of degrees in harmony, not in the soul. And so it is often taken. But Plato in fact works the argument the other way. Neither Burnet, whom Norvin apparently does

not know, nor Olympiodorus, nor Norvin quite follows the course of Plato's logic here. The caveat εἴπερ ἐνδέχεται τοῦτο γίνεσθαι is merely Plato's warning to the reader that he is aware that the hypothesis is, from the point of view of strict musical science, impossible. Norvin's statement that Socrates is here taking harmony in the broader and looser sense, is perhaps near enough to the truth. But he seems to misapprehend the force of Olympiodorus' εἰ μὴ ἄρα when he says (p. 143): "Derimod skal der ikke i Sokrates' udtalelse ligge nogen henvisning til Aristoxenos' laere," etc. It is true historically of course that Socrates could not refer to Aristoxenos. But in the words εἰ μὴ ἄρα κατὰ τὴν αἴσθησιν Olympiodorus does not deny but attributes the idea to Plato as one possible explanation of his meaning.

Of more general interest are chap. x on the plan and purpose of the commentary, chap. xi on its exegetical methods with an interesting sketch of the history of Platonic exegesis in antiquity, chaps. xii-xiv on psychology, metaphysics, and ethics, and the lucid résumé of the whole in chap. xv.

The neo-Platonic commentators made some real contributions to psychology, the consideration of which would exceed the scope of a review. With the majority of historians, Dr. Norvin in my opinion overestimates Stoic influence on the evidence of the occasional employment of Stoic terminology. Like everybody else, he is inclined to assign to Aristotle or later writers ideas already distinctly presented by Plato. Thus on pp. 291-92 he makes Aristotle the source of Plotinus' distinction between the kind of phantasia that creates images out of sensation and that which clothes ideas and thoughts and hopes in images. But as I pointed out in *Unity of Plato's Thought*, n. 348, that distinction is clearly implied in Plato's *Philebus* 39C, which so surprised Grote. The word *phantasia* does not occur in 39C, but *phantasmata* is employed in 40A with reference to the same thought. In Binet, *L'Intelligence*, p. 73, essentially the same thought appears as the latest result of scientific laboratory experiments on the psychology of young girls. Dr. Norvin also once or twice in my opinion slips into the very common error of pressing the specific technical meaning of *διάνοια* in passages where it is probably used only in the broader meaning of mind as opposed to body or sense; cf. *Classical Philology*, V, 221. On p. 290, for example, in the phrase ὡς τῆς ἀληθοῦς δικαιοπραγίας ἐν τῇ διανοίᾳ ἱσταμένης, "i den discursive taenkning" overinterprets *διανοία*, which here means only the "mind" or at most the "intention." And on p. 298 the phrase οἱ δὲ βαθέτεροι τὴν διάνοιαν should not be pressed to support the statement in the text (true enough in itself), "den discursive taenkning gaar altsaa ud paa at bringe begreberne til bevidsthed i størst mulig klarhed og renhed." The word *bevidsthed* again illustrates the delicacy of these inquiries. The modern term "consciousness" is sometimes used to translate a dozen Greek expressions, some of which more or less directly connote consciousness, but few of which are free from other suggestions. For this reason the Greek text should always be quoted when "consciousness" is used in its interpretation.

But to dwell further on such refinements would give a false impression of an excellent and helpful piece of work for which every student of later Greek philosophy will thank the author.

PAUL SHOREY

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P. Ovidi Nasonis Tristia, Epistulae ex Ponto, Halieutica, Fragmenta.

Recognovit brevisque adnotatione critica instruxit S. G. OWEN.

Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1915. 3s.; india paper, 4s. 6d.

Users of Mr. Owen's Oxford text of Persius and Juvenal will welcome from his hand the initial volume of Ovid in the series, containing the poems written in exile—*Tristia*, *Ibis* (why omitted in the title?), *Epistulae ex Ponto*, and *Halieutica*—together with some five pages of fragments. By way of preface Mr. Owen supplements a brief but comprehensive account of the manuscript tradition with some notice of recent monographs. A rather more than usually full and suggestive apparatus supports the carefully conservative text. The fragmentary *Halieutica*—the genuineness of which Mr. Owen follows recent criticism in sustaining—is conveniently illustrated by the printing in full of Pliny's detailed notice. The serviceableness of the concluding *index nominum* is increased by inclusion of indirect references as well as of express mentions—a feature especially useful in the case of so allusive an author as Ovid. As regards type work and general makeup, the book sustains fully the standard of the series. Read *Pannonia* (Ftr. fin.).

H. W. LITCHFIELD

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Greek Sculpture and Modern Art. By SIR CHARLES WALDSTEIN.

Cambridge: University Press, 1914. Pp. 67; 78 plates.

The book consists of two short lectures addressed to technical students of the Royal Academy, one on "The Technique," the other on "The Subject Matter of Art," abundantly illustrated with seventy-eight plates gathered in the second and larger part of the volume, with extenuating explanations in the preface and the appendix. And for such students no better brief introduction to Greek sculpture could well be devised. Even the commonplaces of criticism with which the book abounds may be justified on the ground that discriminating and emphatic mention of them by an authority of the author's distinction may be of considerable profit to those to whom they are addressed.

Most people will find some of it hortatory and negligible, and much of the analysis still too transcendental. Sir Charles Waldstein reads artistic results too frequently from the outside.

The substantial value of the book, however, lies in the exposition and emphasis of really fundamental and crucial matters.

He has set himself to elucidate the twofold thesis: (1) that the Hellenic principle of art is eternal; (2) that this principle (the only right one) must be sought in a compromise between the imitation of nature, the nature of the material and the nature of the artist. These by mysterious adjustment, yield beauty and harmony, qualities expected by our inherent and primitive sense of proportion and of organic unity.

The examination of the author's theses has the ultimate aim of clearing our attitude toward present-day art, which implies a "distinct opposition to the current methods, the technique of art-work and an opposition to the general aim which the artist previously held before him . . . the realization, namely, of beauty." Thus, as all metaphysical, utilitarian, or narrowly empiric views of art are false, the writer seeks his artistic standards in the evolution of style itself, and finds them in the conspicuous element of identity in the art of the great sanctioned epochs, and in the art of the Greeks in particular.

He shows them in the inchoate and experimental stages of their marble sculpture admitting helplessly into it technical devices proper to the manipulation of other materials, of wood, bronze, or clay—until its own nature was intimately comprehended and overcome. From the blind and persistent tendency in the evolution of Greek archaic art and from the supreme achievements of its classic period, we are persuaded to induce the universal—that all truly artistic production results from the adaptation of the idea to the limitations of the material. More than that, the material with its limitations, with its immanent suggestions of form dimly outlines the idea destined to speak through it. In fact, the inert material and the idea are constantly and mutually transforming each other, and jointly beget a result that bears certain features of both. This reciprocal operation tends to specialize, intensify, define, and purify the aesthetic of each art.

The sensitive recognition of the integrity of the material, of its limits and possibilities, characterizes again the artistic attitude of an age working so largely under Hellenic inspiration, the Renaissance in Italy, and a product of its decaying maturity in particular, Michelangelo. But its confines once fixed and ascertained, he passed beyond them, leaving the marble in unequal degrees of completion—indeterminate, betraying its latent and lurking characteristics, its primitive asperity and formlessness.

M. Rodin's art, however, Sir Charles Waldstein thinks, audaciously extending the limits of the material in all directions, carries this technical device much farther. The original block is rarely recognizable in the result. He pushes to the very heart of the marble, and he caresses its surface to a warmer color. His work is more suggestive, pictorial, and operates upon us through its far more sensitive nuances, its far subtler effects. For M. Rodin's art, moreover, the writer claims with a touch of dogmatic bias,

"a high artistic quality by bringing out to the full . . . the nature of bronze"; though this same artist has committed a typical "artistic mistake" in his "La vieille Heaulmière," where, by an *Anderstreben*, by which one art appropriates effects proper to another, M. Rodin has done violence to his material, endeavoring to express through it the fluidity, the scope, the movement of a poetic form.

As "the limit to naturalism in technique is to be sought for in the nature of the material itself," so naturalism of conception should temper the specific by the general. For we are reminded that as nature produces the individual, so she also produces the type; and similarly, that if the artist aims at reproducing what he sees, it is equally important that he should represent what he feels.

This advanced interpretation of naturalism is nothing else than that fusion of naturalism and idealism which was the dominant note of Greek taste and which, together with the Hellenic account of physical facts, and of beauty, explains the permanent influence of Greek art.

RICHARD OFFNER

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Introduction à l'étude comparative des langues indo-européennes.

By A. MEILLET. 4to. Paris: Hachette et Cie., 1915. Pp. xxvi+502, Fr. 10.

The third edition of this important manual was noticed in *Classical Philology*, VIII, 130. The present edition, which was in press before the outbreak of the war, is a reimpression, with a few minor changes and connections.

C. D. B.

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Ovid: Heroides and Amores. With an English Translation by GRANT SHOWERMAN. (Loeb Classical Library.) Pp. viii+524. New York: Macmillan, 1914.

Not every contributor to the Loeb series gives his reader the benefit of a preliminary definition of his views as to methods and aims in such translation. Mr. Showerman, in a review of several of the earlier volumes (*Classical Philology*, IX [1914], 107 ff.), has set forth justly and appreciatively — *νάθα μάθος*, one divines! — the difficulties of the undertaking: it is a pleasure to note that the *Heroides* and *Amores*, while not beyond the need of some such preface, still measure well up to the rather exacting standard there put before the translator.

Together with his primary requirement of idiomatic English, Mr. Showerman would lay stress on rendering which shall be faithful as regards

form—rhythm, word order, and rhetorical figures—not less than content, intellectual and emotional. Of the *Heroides* he remarks, justly, by way of introduction (p. 8): "Their language may be unvarying, and may border too much on the rhetorical, but it is full-flowing, clear, euphonious, and restful. It may be artificial, but its very artificiality is of charming quality." As much may fairly be said of them in the English rendering. Artificial rhetoric in the original is sometimes overemphasized and becomes—what the original is never—ungainly: as in *Her.* 1. 37 ff.—"told" four times in half as many lines for Ovid's *rettulerat . . . rettulit*—and for Dido's *perdita ne perdam* (*Her.* 7. 61): "Undone myself, I fear lest I be the undoing of him who is my undoing"; and *Her.* 14. 76 "the strenuous weapon in my timorous hand"—a poor equivalent for *in timida fortia tela manu*. Smoothness and euphony suffer occasionally from lack of the file, as in *Her.* 1. 103 ff.: "To sustain our cause are the guardian of your cattle and the ancient nurse, and, as a third, the faithful ward of the unclean sty; but neither Laertes, unable as he is to wield arms now, can sway the scepter in the midst of our foes—Telemachus, indeed, so he live on, will arrive at years of strength, but now should have his father's aid and guarding—nor have I strength to repel the enemy from our halls." Such passages are the exception; and it is a more gracious and pleasant office to remark how closely the translator has caught Ovid's tone in, for example, the famous lines of Phaedra to Hippolytus (*Her.* 4. 77 ff.): "That hardness of feature suits you well, those locks that fall without art, and the light dust upon your handsome face." In Medea's story of Jason's wedding festival (*Her.* 12. 148 ff.) the simplicity, and unaffected delight of the boy's cry is like Ovid: "My heart was heavy, . . . when the younger of the children, at my bidding, and eager for the sight, went and stood at the outer threshold of the double door. 'Here, mother, come out!' he cries to me. 'A procession is coming, and my father Jason leading it. He's all in gold, and driving a team of horses!' Then straight I rent my cloak and beat my breast and cried aloud." A careful attention to rhythmical effect, which is seldom absent and yet more seldom suffered to pass beyond the limits of a prose style, lends much to passages such as *Her.* 2. 121 ff.: "Heavy in soul, none the less do I tread the rocks and the thicket-covered strand, where'er the sea view opens broad before my eyes. Whether by day the soil is loosed by warmth, or whether constellations coldly shine, I look ever forth to see what wind doth sweep the straits; and whatever sails I see approaching from afar, straightway I augur them the answer to my prayers." This is true especially of descriptive pieces like *Her.* 16. 53 ff.: "There is a place in the woody vales of midmost Ida, far from trodden paths and covered over with pine and ilex, where never grazes the placid sheep, nor the she-goat that loves the cliff, nor the wide-mouthed, slowly-moving kine. From here, reclining against a tree, I was looking forth upon the walls and lofty roofs of the Dardanian city, and upon the sea. . . ."

It could be wished that a version of so much general merit might have received a thorough revision in line with the primary requirement of idiomatic English. Intelligible perhaps, but hardly natural, is Phyllis when she says of Theseus to her betrayer (*Her.* 2. 77): "The only deed that draws forth his excuse [*quod solum excusat*], that only you admire in him." "Gone is my flesh," cries Briseis to Achilles (*Her.* 3. 141 ff.), "and gone my color; what spirit I still have is but sustained by hope in you. If I am left by that, I shall go to rejoin my brothers. . . ." Would not Mr. Showerman be the first to deny freedom from any "offensive structural mark of its origin" to the language of phrases like "The iron-hearted one will yield his hand" (*dabit victas manus*, *Her.* 4. 14); "Let the tempest be my grace" (*Her.* 7. 41); "My mother, loved by him, will aid with her precedent" (*Her.* 8. 40); or "What have I with thee?" as an equivalent for *Quid tibi mecum* of *Am.* 3. 6. 87?

The text, while on the whole conservative, might with profit have been carried still farther in that direction. The following MS readings, among others, should surely have been retained: *Her.* 1. 15 *Hectore victum* (cf. p. 14, n. a); 18, 119 *huc*; 20. 76 *suis*; 21. 26 *cauta*; 55 *dic a* (or *dicam*); 146 *divitis*; *Am.* 1. 6. 23 *quod optas*; 9. 5 *annos*. *Her.* 4. 86 *materia* is a technical term and surely right; cf. 7. 34, also 3. 152 and *Am.* 1. 1. *passim*. *Her.* 21. 196 *accipit* should be read with all manuscripts; the use is volitive—"will receive only seldom"—cf. Hale and Buck's *Grammar*, § 571. The apparatus is, for the purposes of the series, overloaded with guesses of former editors, not always accompanied by information about the manuscripts: among variants which might well have been omitted may be mentioned those on *Her.* 1. 65 (cf. *incerta* 64); 3. 61 (cf. *mile* 62); 4. 137; 14. 42 (cf. *vino* 33); 19. 11; 20. 38 and 59; 21. 126; *Am.* 1. 8. 45 and 58; 9. 6; 2. 5. 5; 10. 27; 3. 3. 26; 6. 85 *increvit*. Too many such variants serve apparently only as material illustrative of the history of the text or as fillers; surely both ends can be otherwise attained to the advantage of the series.

Such information on matters of mythology and geography as the reader may reasonably require, is given in concise and convenient form by a set of indexes and by suggestive footnotes *ad loc.* Mr. Showerman's biographical sketch and brief introductory criticisms seem well adapted to insure a sympathetic and appreciative hearing for his author. Frank omissions, inconspicuously managed, solve in sensible fashion the more serious problems of good taste presented by the *Amores*. Mechanically, as regards paging and general makeup, the book—save for occasional overspacing—leaves little to be desired. Further criticism in this respect may properly come from the authors of recent diatribes against the series, whose function would seem to be the awakening of a pardonable doubt whether the would-be humanist whom such extreme niceties of pagination can discourage, is a brand worth the snatching! From others, a volume which presents Ovid's love poems in easily intelligible and attractive form is sure of an appreciative welcome.

The only misleading type errors which I have noticed are in the critical notes, p. 80, n. 2 *ille*, and p. 280, n. 3 *vis*, and the omission of punctuation pp. 39 *fin.* and 506, 25. Read *east* for *south-east* (p. 2). An apparent mis-translation occurs in *Her.* 15. 19; cf. vs. 201; *Am.* 3. 6. 85 renders the emendation not the text.

H. W. LITCHFIELD

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The Correspondence of Cicero, Vol. III. By ROBERT Y. TYRRELL and LOUIS C. PURSER. 2d ed. 1914.

The revised third volume of the monumental *Correspondence of Cicero* by Tyrrell and Purser was fortunately completed before Tyrrell's death. To whatever college library one goes in America one is likely to find the Tyrrell and Purser in strange binding, not because the original binding is easily broken, but because the volumes are in such constant use. The introductions, invaluable for their intelligent reading of Roman personalities, have become with us the orthodox interpretation of Cicero and his times. The notes, ranging from minute linguistic points to generous discussions of social usage and constitutional questions, have invited generations of young scholars to a frequent re-reading of these invaluable letters. Because the first edition was rather hastily printed and had to break much new ground, it has been necessary to read the volumes cautiously, but misprints and hasty statements have now largely been removed from the first three volumes at least. The revised editions of the rest will be eagerly awaited.

Because we are so dependent upon these volumes and thumb them so constantly, it has seemed worth while to indicate some apparent misinterpretations which a hasty reading has revealed.

P. xxxi: "For this success [at Pindenissus] he was saluted Imperator." *Fam.* ii. 10. 3 proves that he received the honor after the battle of Amanus.

P. lxi: The introduction assumes that Caesar's second term in Gaul was for five years, and it takes no cognizance of Hirschfeld's discussion of the problem. A note on p. 78, however, supplies the omission, stating that Hirschfeld's view is now generally adopted. The substance of the note should have been given in the introduction.

P. lxiv: Greenidge's strange theory that "a provincial governor held his command for only two months in his own right" is still accepted by the editors. The passage in the *De prov. cons.* 37, on which Greenidge relied, seems to me to prove the exact opposite. Does it not state that such a proposal would be absurd?

P. lxix: Can Caesar's levy of troops in Cisalpine Gaul be taken to prove that he considered the Gauls citizens? Perhaps he levied soldiers only among the Roman citizens residing there, even as Pompey did in 51 B.C.

P. lxxi: Pompey's proposal that Caesar give up his command on the Ides of November is assumed to refer to the year 49, though the date may be 50 B.C. The editors then mention Zumpt's conjecture that the *Lex Pomp. Licin.* was probably passed on the Ides of November, without noting Lange's objection that this day was a holiday.

I would venture another explanation for the choice of the Ides of November, if the year 49 is the date in question. The calendar was 45 days out of normal at this time and Pompey doubtless intended to correct the confusion as soon as possible. Now since the senators opposed the correction chiefly because it would prolong Caesar's term, Pompey may have proposed this date as a compromise. Pompey might demonstrate to Caesar that the Ides of November, 49, of the corrected calendar, would be equivalent to January 1, 48, of the uncorrected, thus proving that no injustice was intended. On the other hand, he could please the senate by exposing Caesar to judicial procedure for 45 days. Caesar probably refused to accept the dangerous compromise; at any rate the proposal soon fell through.

P. xlix: The editors still cite Asconius in the editions of Orelli and Kiessling, though the editions of Clark and of Stangel were available.

P. lxi: The footnote indexes are confused.

P. 124, the last footnote: Is there any evidence that the Campanian lands were given wholly to Pompey's soldiers in 59? (See Vol. I, p. 427.)

P. 134: The letter heading *Ciceroni* is a misprint.

P. 182, footnote *s.v. Pamphylum*: The conjectured addition of *ex Idibus Aprilib.* is not called for, since Cicero intended to remain at Laodicea till the Ides of May (*Att.* vi. 1. 24).

P. 198, first footnote: The comment upon the *equites* seems slightly unfair. The edict in question apparently dealt with questions of tax-collecting, so that the *equites* were the only persons concerned.

TENNEY FRANK

BRYN MAWR COLLEGE

De la phrase à verbe être dans l'ionien d'Hérodote. By D. BARBELENET. Paris: Champion, 1913. Pp. 114.

M. Barbelenet translates (p. 17) καὶ ἄνθρωποι νομὸν ἐν θαλάσῃ ζήσονται καὶ ἰχθύες τὸν πρότερον ἄνθρωποι ὅτε (*Hdt.* v. 92a), "les hommes vivront dans la mer et ceux qui étaient poissons seront des hommes quand." This is not merely a free translation. The sentence is cited as an example of the omission of the copula. He adds, "cet exemple serait des plus curieux si ἴσται ne se trouvait pas deux lignes plus haut." Let us grant that this is carelessness, and not ignorance, though it is difficult to do so: there are so many reasons why such a rendering is impossible. But what is to be said of the following? On pp. 13 ff., where the omission of the copula is under discussion, we read: "Trois types sont particulièrement fréquents: 1° Celui où

l'attribut est un préverbe, le plus souvent *ἐν*. . . . 2° Les phrases contenant un démonstratif, le plus souvent sujet: . . . i. 216 *νοὸς [sic] δὲ οὗτος τῆς θυσίης*. . . . 3° Des phrases où le sujet logique est un infinitif. Il ne précède l'attribut que quand il est amené: a) par *ἀνάγκη*. . . . b) *χρέον*: viii 75 *ἐντεταμένως [sic] τὰ λέγειν χρέον [sic] et ὄφελον*: i. 111 *τὸ μῆτε ἰδεῖν ὄφελον μῆτε κότε [sic] γενέσθαι*. There can be no doubt about it. M. Barbelenet does not know that *ὄφελον* is a verb.

After that a reviewer may be excused for doubting whether the author is qualified to draw distinctions of meaning depending upon the varying position of subject, attribute, and verb.

A. G. LAIRD

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The Kings of Lydia and a Rearrangement of Some Fragments from Nicolaus of Damascus. By LEIGH ALEXANDER. Princeton doctoral dissertation, 1913.

Mr. Alexander begins by rearranging the *Excerpta de insidiis* taken from the *Universal History* of Nicolaus of Damascus, assigning Frg. 49 in Müller (*F.H.G.*) to book iv instead of to book vi (Müller). Frg. 49 deals with the Lydian kings Ardys to Gyges, and this rearrangement brings it into the same book as Frgs. 24, 27, 28 contained in the *Excerpta de virtutibus et vitiis*, which also deal with Lydian history and which Müller had assigned to Nicolaus' book iv. Proceeding from this Alexander concludes that the Meles of Frg. 24, whom Moxus τῆς τυραννίδος καθέλει, is the same as the King Meles of Frg. 49, who withdrew from the kingdom for three years καθήρασθαι τὸν φόνον (Δασκύλον). As the writer points out, the resemblance between these two fragments "is certainly striking," and it seems to me that the argument, so far, is plausible. Less convincing is the conclusion that Meles was not one of the regular line of kings, but a usurper during the reign of King Ardys I. This view seems to be based almost entirely upon the word *τυραννίδος* in Frg. 24, a dangerous inference, for in Herodotus 1. 14, 15 we find such phrases as τὴν τυραννίδα οὕτω ἔσχον οἱ Μερμνάδαι, Γίγνης τυρανεύσας, ἐπὶ τούτου (Ἀρδύος) τυρανεύοντος; while in Frg. 49 we have ἐπὶ Μήλεω βασιλεύοντος and in Hdt. 1. 84 Μήλης ὁ πρότερον βασιλεὺς Σαρδίων (also identified by Alexander with the Meles of Frgs. 24, 49). It is true that we are not told who the father of Meles was, nor whether he had a son; but since Herodotus mentions a King Meles, since the chronographers give us the succession Ardys, Alyattes, Meles, Kandaules, and since in Nicolaus we have Ardys, Meles, Myrsus, Sadyattes (= Kandaules, killed by Gyges), I am less inclined to follow Alexander in identifying Adyattes with Myrsus (father of Kandaules) and omitting Meles from the regular line, than Radet, who identifies Meles with Ardyattes (or Alyattes), son of Ardys, because Nicolaus says that Ardyattes killed Daskylos and that Meles went into exile καθήρασθαι τὸν φόνον.

Rather unconvincing also is the identification of Askalos (=Daskylos) with Moxos (=Mopsos), because Askalos, a Lydian general, went on a military expedition into Syria and founded the town of Askalon, and Mopsos the Lydian threw some people into a lake near Askalon. We then have Moxos (=Daskylos) driving Meles out of the kingdom, and Meles leaving the kingdom voluntarily on account of the murder of Daskylos (=Moxos). Admitting the great confusion of names in Lydian history, it is improbable, nevertheless, that from the same passage in Nicolaus two excerptors should have drawn accounts that left the identity of Moxos and Daskylos so completely concealed.

Mr. Alexander has handled a very difficult problem with great clearness and considerable ingenuity; and he recognizes, with becoming modesty, that his suggestions are merely tentative.

A. G. LAIRD

UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN

Grammatik der delphischen Inschriften. By EDMUND RÜSCH. I. Band—Lautlehre. Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1914. Pp. xxii+344. M. 13.

Since the vast augmentation of material which resulted from the French excavation of Delphi there has been only one monograph devoted to the Delphian dialect, and that, the dissertation of Valaori, was both inadequate and untrustworthy. We have now before us the first volume of a grammar of the Delphian inscriptions which will be the most complete and accurate statement of the facts that we have for any Greek dialect. It is a fortunate circumstance that the author, after submitting his grammar as a dissertation, in 1908, came to realize the advantage, or rather in the case of the Delphian material the absolute necessity, of supplementing his linguistic training by epigraphical experience. This he gained under the direction of the veteran critic of matters Delphian, Pomtow, who placed at his disposal his collection of three thousand squeezes, his revised readings, notes on chronology, etc. The author also took part (as the reviewer can testify from autopsy) in the Prussian and Bavarian expedition to Delphi under Pomtow and Bulle in 1910.

Every page bears witness to the extreme care on the epigraphical side, and the countless corrected readings which are scattered through the volume make its consultation indispensable to all who make use of the Delphian texts, for whatever purpose. Whether the corrections are of general moment or seemingly trivial, they all affect the statistics, to which the author has given special attention and which are in fact essential if one is to get the full return from such an elaborate study. While Delphi has furnished more Greek inscriptions than any other place except Athens, the number of those in the pure native dialect is much smaller than is the case of many of the

other dialects. To discuss fully the material of this class would require comparatively small labor and space. The chief linguistic interest of the great mass of the Delphian inscriptions lies in the dialect mixture, in the distribution, according to time and character of the texts, of Delphian, Northwest Greek *κοινή*, and Attic *κοινή*. The general situation was already known and is described briefly in the reviewer's *Greek Dialects*, § 231. But it is for just such a situation that the fullest detail with statistical summaries, such as the author gives, is most welcome. The work has perhaps its most distinctive value as a contribution to the history of the progress and character of the *κοινή*.

C. D. BUCK

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Antike Schriften über Seelenheilung und Seelenleitung auf ihre Quellen untersucht. By PAUL RABROW. I. *Die Therapie des Zorns.* Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1914. Pp. 198. M. 8.

This first instalment of what promises to be an important work concerns itself with the ancient treatises on the prevention and cure of anger—chiefly with Seneca *De Ira*, Plutarch *Περὶ ἀοργησίας*, and Cicero *Tusc.* iii. In these days when Posidonius is so much to the fore it is not surprising to find that Seneca and Plutarch are regarded as having derived much of their argumentation from him. Unfortunately the reference of much of this to Posidonius rests on rather insecure foundations, though Dr. Rabbow has done not a little to support his conclusion. Unquestionably he has advanced the interpretation and analysis of Seneca *De Ira*, and has thrown much light on the doctrines of Posidonius, Antiochus, and Chrysippus. As a specimen of *Quellenforschung* this volume is on the whole to be approved, for its author has clearly endeavored to keep at least one foot on solid supports as he mounts to his conclusions. We may do well to await the completion of his work before passing final judgment on it; but meanwhile it is safe to say that it deserves the attention of scholars who will welcome its continuance and conclusion.

W. A. HEIDEL

WESLEYAN UNIVERSITY

Zur Geschichte der Frauenemanzipation im alten Rom (eine Studie zu Livius 34, 1-8). By PROFESSOR DR. JOHANNES TEUFER. Teubner, 1913. Pp. ii+43. M. 1.90.

Dr. Teufer begins his study with the report given by Livy xxxiv. 1-8, of the alleged debate between the elder Cato and L. Valerius over the repeal of the Oppian Law. His conclusion that these speeches are Livy's is by no means new. From this beginning he proceeds to discuss (chap. iii) the

assemblies of women and the various occasions on which they gathered in public either voluntarily or at the call of a magistrate (cf. Livy xxvii. 37). These meetings, at first exceptional, gradually led to a permanent organization of women—the *conventus matronarum*, which under Heliogabalus took the form of a *mulierum senatus*, recognized by the favor of the emperor as a public corporation vested with definite functions and provided with a building of its own. Next (chap. iv) he indicates the steps by which women attained to civil freedom, mainly through changes in the forms of marriage and in the regulation of the dowry and the *tutela*. All these developments centered in the growth of individualism. In a final chapter the author glances at the tendencies in operation for the political emancipation of women.

Though the work is altogether too brief to represent a real contribution to the social history of Rome, it cannot help being useful as a summary, which the author hopes to expand into a larger study. Undoubtedly there is a place for a considerable volume on the subject.

G. W. BOTSFORD

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

The Manuscript Tradition of the Historia Augusta. By SUSAN H. BALLOU, PH.D. Leipzig and Berlin: Teubner, 1914. M. 2.60, bound 4.80.

Six years ago, Miss Ballou promised in this *Journal* (III, 273 ff.) to take up at greater length the MS problem presented by the *Historia Augusta*, in the new edition of which she is collaborating. Meanwhile Hohl, in *Klio* (XIII, 258 ff. and 387 ff.), has to a certain degree anticipated her. But since some of her conclusions differ considerably from Hohl's, she publishes this very detailed and painstaking study, which in general carries admiration and conviction.

The *Historia Augusta* is preserved in a score of MSS; two—P, in the Vatican, and B, at Bamberg—date from the Caroline revival, the others from the Renaissance. A glance at the handsome facsimiles shows that P has the Fulda type of writing; and B, an insular MS, may also have been written at or near Fulda. P has been carefully corrected and emended by a half-dozen scribes, among whom Miss Ballou has recognized Petrarch himself; de Nohac had already discovered that Paris 5816 is Petrarch's transcript of P. Coluccio, Poggio, Manetti and Bembo were also, she thinks, among the possessors of P. As certain Verona writers of the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries quote from the *Historia Augusta*, P may have been there till it came into Petrarch's hands.

Miss Ballou tries to assign the corrections and changes in P to the proper emenders, and then to date the Renaissance copies by determining just which emended form of P they incorporate. She is least successful with

Vat. 1899 (pp. 58-59), which has several readings of P¹ which were completely obliterated by a corrector earlier than Vat. 1899. To explain this, she thinks the scribe of Vat. 1899 had before him P (corrected by P⁶), and in addition two early copies of P. It takes also considerable faith to believe that one and the same hand wrote the various scraps reproduced on the facsimiles as Petrarch's handwriting; but one familiar with Renaissance handwriting will feel only skepticism, not disbelief. In one of the three appendices, Miss Ballou considers the dependence of B upon P, now generally admitted; B has, however, some readings which prove to be independent. Could not B and P be copies of an almost contemporary *x*, as is the case with MSS V (Fulda) and M (Hersfeld) of Ammianus? M and V reproduce lacunae as conscientiously as do B and P; but it is clear neither is a copy of the other. One feels annoyed that a great house like Teubner should not even sew the sheets of a book appealing to an English-speaking public; we are used to pamphlets whose leaves will not immediately drop out; the long-suffering Teutons still put up with it. There are also too many misprints, even considering the difficulties offered the compositors by the language.

C. U. CLARK

YALE UNIVERSITY

Historicorum Romanorum Reliquiae. Iteratis curis disposuit recensuit praefatus est HERMANNUS PETER. Vol. I. Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1914. Pp. x*+ccclxxx+382. M. 22.

Forty-four years after the appearance of the first edition of this (first) volume, the veteran editor had completed his revision and had seen part of the book through the press when he was called away from his long labor. It is no small merit on his part that, whatever may have been the reason, he allowed so respectable a period to elapse between editions, a striking contrast to the ordinary procedure in Germany of late. During this time an enormous amount of toil has been expended upon the microscopic examination of the sources of Roman history and their relation to the later canonical versions. Much of this labor has been fruitless, except in a negative way, and while Peter has sifted its product carefully, he has refrained from burdening the reader *coniecturis iam oblivione obrutis* (vi*), and his principal conclusions have been changed comparatively little. This in itself is a notable indication of the critical acumen and sanity of judgment of the first edition.

The revision is thorough, and at least half the book, aside from the *Fragmenta*, has been rewritten, even where argument and conclusion are practically the same in content, as in chap. iii of the *Prolegomena*. On the whole the style has been improved, although it is still far from being impeccable. Compare, if you will, the last sentence on p. cxvi in which seven of the first

nine words are monosyllables. The text of the *Fragmenta* themselves has been revised and the critical apparatus brought down to date. The typography of this volume corresponds with that of Vol. II (1906), but it is very unfortunate that we are still subjected to the inconvenience of having the pages of the first part numbered with Roman numerals, and of the second with Arabic.

In the case of the second edition of a work that has been recognized as a standard for forty years the function of the reviewer is to abstain from controversy on the thousand and one points that present themselves, and simply to call attention to some of the differences in substance between the two editions. In the present case these are comparatively few, as has already been remarked.

The second chapter of the *Prolegomena* of Ed. 1—*Qua ratione hae reliquiae nobis traditae sunt*—has been omitted from Ed. 2, on account of the exhaustive treatment of this subject in the author's *Wahrheit und Kunst, Geschichtsschreibung und Plagiat im klassischen Altertum*. Incidentally we note the passing of *reliquiae* without a pang. While the editor holds the same view of the origin of the *Annales Maximi*, he now supposes that the tablets were placed on the Regia just before the Samnite wars instead of a little before the Gallic invasion (cf. Cichorius, *ca.* 400 B.C.). Chap. ii, *De litterarum monumentis privatis*, has been considerably amplified; more emphasis is laid on the importance of the material supplied for *laudationes* by family records; the list of *laudationes* known to have been published has been revised by dropping that delivered in 68 B.C. by Caesar for his wife Cornelia, and by adding that spoken by Augustus over Marcellus; and the evidence for the use of *commentarii familiae* by Livy is more fully illustrated in the case of the Fabii, Cornelii, and Claudii. It is clear that Peter had come to regard this kind of influence in the development of historical writing as far greater than before (cf. lvii: "Fabius Pictor . . . laudes suae gentis etiam ita illustravit ut alias obscuraret atque in his fundamentis historiam Romanam posuit").

In a long discussion of the well-known passage in Dionysius (i. 6) where that historian characterizes the method of Fabius and Cincius, Peter rejects his former interpretation of κεφαλαιωδῶς by *summatim vel breviter* (I, lxxiii), and explains the term by *capitulatim* (II, lxxiii); and in the comparison of Fabius and Diocles Peparethius by Plutarch (*vit. Rom.* 3), which has always been a source of mystification, he clears up the meaning by adopting an explanation published some years before (*BphW*, 1906, 241). Both of these views are to be commended, but it is doubtful whether the same can be said of his stout defense (pp. lxxv–lxxvi) of his former explanation of the reason why the earlier annalists wrote in Greek, against that of most modern scholars (*RE*, VI, 1838).

The date of the grammarian, L. Cincius Alimentus, is now placed (p. cvii) between Varro and Verrius Flaccus instead of soon after 120 B.C.

(I), and fragments 1, 2, are assigned to him, no longer to the annalist (cf. Cichorius, *RE*, III, 2557). Among the *Fragmenta* Peter now quotes the substance of the letter of Scipio Africanus to Philip (Polyb. x. 6-9) and that of Scipio Nasica (Plut. *Aem.* 15-16, 21), but not the substance of the letters of these two Scipios to Prusias (Polyb. xxi. 9; Liv. xxxvii. 25). This seems strange in view of what he has to say on this subject (p. cxvii). In I he had denied that the Claudius who translated the annals of Acilius into Latin was Claudius Quadrigarius. Afterward (*JJ*, CXXV, 153-55) he changed his mind, and now (pp. cxii, 292) he argues strongly for this identification, although there is still a plentiful lack of agreement among critics.

The detailed criticism of the reasons assigned by Niebuhr, Bormann and others for the title of Cato's *Origines* (I, cxxxii-cxxvii) is omitted from II. In opposition to a prevalent view (e.g., Leo, *Kultur d. Gegenwart*³, p. 419) Peter insists that Cato did treat in outline of the history of Rome from the expulsion of the kings to the Punic wars and that *origines*, meaning both origin and history, was the title of the first three books, to which the others, published afterward, were incorrectly attached. In I he was still in doubt as to the reason why Cato did not mention the names of the Roman commanders, but in II (p. cxli) he accepts the view of Nipperdey that the names of the consuls and praetors were prefixed to the annals of each year, and therefore were not repeated in the text. It seems difficult to reconcile this with a later statement (p. cxlvii) that Cato's work did not serve the purpose of later annalists well, "neque enim nominati erant bellorum duces qui multo cum labore ex aliis annalibus conquirendi erant." In the first edition small allowance was made for the influence of Greek literature on Cato's work, but quite the contrary view is held in the second. The opinion expressed in I (p. clvii) that Pliny drew directly from Cato is now modified (p. cliv) by the admission that he also drew indirectly through Nepos. Similarly, in regard to a direct connection between Pliny and Cassius Hemina he has changed his mind (p. clxviii) and thinks that all later writers except Appian got their knowledge of Hemina through Varro or someone else.

Accepting the view that Piso agreed with Cato in assuming that Rome was founded in Olympiad vii. 1, Peter rather oddly makes no mention of the apparent testimony of Censorinus (*De die nat.* 17. 13) that Piso put this event in 758, nor of the modern support that this has received (cf. Cichorius, *RE*, III, 1394). The hypothesis of a second C. Fannius, based on Polybius (pp. xxviii, 4) and stoutly maintained in some quarters (*RE*, VI, 1988), is rightly rejected (p. xciv), and considerable evidence is marshalled to show that Fannius did not simply invent the speeches inserted in his history. The theory of two Gellii, supported in I, has been abandoned (p. cciv) and all fragments are now assigned to Cn. Gellius, *vir monetalis* between 154 and 134 B.C., who is therefore placed before Coelius Antipater instead of after him (I). Fragment 34, in which *agellius* (*codd.*) had been read "A. Gellius," is now bracketed and assigned to Asellio (2A), and the unqualified statement

of I that there were 97 books of Gellius' *Annales* is made only as a possibility.

Since Marx has proved that Coelius Antipater dedicated his work to L. Aelius not to Laelius, Peter thinks (p. cexvi) that the title may have been "L. Coelii Antipatri belli Punici alterius libri septem ad L. Aelium," and as the same scholar has restored *Coelius* for the vulgate *Lucilius* in *Auct. ad Her.* iv. 12. 18, this passage is now admitted among the fragments of Coelius (24B). Three other fragments are added, one (24A) with good reason, the other two (66, 67) on very uncertain grounds. A change of view is also seen in the stemma of relationship between annalists and historians (p. cexxxi), in which Coelius has become a direct source of Valerius Antias.

The improvement in form is perhaps more striking in the revised chapters on M. Aemilius Scaurus and P. Rutilius Rufus than anywhere else. Peter follows Pais in placing Rutilius' birth before 156 B.C. (p. celvi), instead of in 151-52 (I), but does not follow him in attributing to this annalist sundry passages in Appian, Diodorus, and others where Pais goes too far. In I a *liber de antiquitatibus* was attributed to Catulus, and fragments 9-13 assigned to it; in II the existence of any such book is denied, and these fragments (except 10) are assigned to the *historia communis*. An earlier view of the editor (cf. *Historicorum Romanorum Fragmenta*) that this *historia communis* was the work of Daphnis, the freedman of Catulus, is now rejected, as well as that of Buettner who regards it as the joint product of Catulus and Daphnis.

A noteworthy addition to the chapter on Claudius Quadrigarius is the argument (pp. celxxxvii-celxxxix) to prove that Claudius began his annals with the Gallic invasion in order to rehabilitate the Claudii and to plead their cause against the Fabii, in the same way that Valerius Antias (p. cecxiv) began his at an earlier date in order to extol the Valerii at the expense of the Claudii. The chapter on Valerius is much longer than in I, and contains an able and convincing discussion of his use of rhetorical art for the purpose of confounding Claudius Quadrigarius and the Claudii in general.

On p. cecxxvi Niese is incorrectly quoted among those who believe that Sisenna was born in 151 B.C. (cf. *RE*, IV, 1512); in I Peter had admitted the reading in Nonius (127=frag. 3): *Sisenna ab urbe condita*, and had explained it as a possible title for the first book of the *historiae*, in II (p. cecxxix) he rejects both reading and explanation; the existence of orations of Sisenna in published form, maintained in I on the supposed evidence of Tacitus (*Dial.* 23), is now absolutely denied (p. cecxlviii); and the *commentarii Plautini*, which were assigned to the historian in I, are now correctly attributed to a post-Vergilian grammarian, with a corresponding rearrangement of the fragments.

Fragment 23, assigned unhesitatingly to Licinus Macer in I, is now referred to C. Clodius Licinus (cf. II, 78), and with it goes the only evidence for more than sixteen books in Licinius' history (p. cccli). It is interesting

to note that Peter now believes that it was Q. Aelius Tubero the historian to whom Dionysius dedicated his Thucydides (p. ccclxx), and comforting to catch so accurate a scholar writing S. Iulio (p. cccclxxviii)!

The index shows that twenty-nine fragments have been dropped from the list of I, and fourteen added. Besides the misprints mentioned in the Errata, about twenty more have been noted, but they are mostly unimportant.

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Livy, Book XXI and Selections from Books XXII-XXX. By JAMES C. EGBERT. New York: Macmillan, 1913. 12mo. pp. xvii+306. \$0.60.

This is one of the volumes in Macmillan's "Latin Classics Series" whose motto is, "*The notes are written to instruct and not to impress.*" The italics are not mine. The implied converse would furnish an interesting subject for debate, but it would be unfair, obviously, to criticize this volume or series for not being what it does not pretend to be.

The selections include the battle at the Trasimene Lake and the battle of Cannae from book xxii; the siege of Capua from book xxvi; the battle at the Metaurus from book xxvii, and the battle of Zama from book xxx. The student who has covered the text of this volume has thus followed the fortunes of Hannibal from the beginning of the war through its most vital crises to the final defeat. He misses much, inevitably—the siege of Syracuse, the death of Marcellus, and, most of all, the wonderful ringing note of triumph in defeat with which the twenty-second book closes.

The Introduction is a model of clearness and brevity. It would be more exact, perhaps, to speak of Silenus (p. xii) as Hannibal's historiographer than merely as "a Greek historian with a pro-Carthaginian spirit." It would have been well—considering the audience whom it was designed to instruct but not to impress—if the statement (p. xiii) that, in his first decade, Livy is a writer of the Silver Age were further explained. The maps and plans (except that of the Trasimene Lake) are placed with the notes. It would be easier to refer to particular words in the text if the lines on the page as well as the sections of the chapters had been numbered. This has been done in some of the later volumes of the series.

The notes are concise and give just the information needed by the young student to master the text. The maps and plans are clear except the one following p. 198, which deals with Hannibal's route over the Alps. Why are two routes marked "according to Livy"? There is already enough confusion in that matter. I have often wondered why so little weight has been given to

the evidence of Coelius. He represents the views of Silenus, who certainly knew the truth. A large number of the grammar references are to a single grammar, where, in most cases, we should have had them to all the standard works.

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Das alte Rom. By OTTO RICHTER. Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1913.
Pp. 80. M. 1.25.

This little manual belongs to the well-known series "Aus Natur und Geisteswelt." To the eighty pages of text are added a half-tone illustration of the Forum with the buildings cleverly identified, sixteen pages of illustrations, and a map of imperial Rome. To describe, as the author does, all of the ancient city, including the parts across the Tiber and the tombs, with an introduction on the situation and topography of Rome and a chapter on the development and destruction of the city, all in eighty duodecimo pages, is something of a feat. Naturally all debatable matter is eliminated. Although much that is really important has been omitted, the author must be congratulated on having achieved his purpose, which was to write a handy guide for travelers interested in pagan Rome.

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Apulei Platonici Madaurensis Apologia, iterum edidit RUDOLFUS HELM. Leipzig: Teubner, 1912. Pp. iv+120. M. 2.40.

This is a second edition, embodying the results of the most recent criticism of the text. One naturally compares the work with that of Van der Vliet, published in 1900. Both editors have been extremely careful in the method of printing the text, indicating by means of brackets and italics all deviations from the manuscript readings. Helm has carried the use of italics to an extreme. The MSS of first importance are two in the Laurentian library, named F and ϕ , the latter thought to be a copy of the former. Helm's lengthy discussion of the MSS, however, is found in his edition of the *Florida* of 1910. The page-numbers of the Oudendorp and Krueger editions as well as of the MSS themselves are given by both editors. Van der Vliet's critical apparatus is rather more elaborate than necessary, in some cases exhibiting no small ingenuity in the printer's art. His book ran to 126 pages. Helm has reduced his to 114 pages, but he might well have kept it within smaller limits. In the matter of emendation the later editor has been more conservative than his predecessor and has marked as corrupt less than a dozen places. In several cases there is an interesting difference of judgment between the two editors in the choice of readings, e.g., at 2.1 of Helm's

edition we find *clamitarat*, the reading of ϕ , where Van der Vliet reads *clamitaret* from F; and at 13. 26 Helm has *ignara* from F, but Van der Vliet has *gnara* from some inferior MSS—and something can be said on both sides. In general, Helm's edition exhibits sound judgment and a careful presentation of MSS authority.

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Sexti Pompei Festi de verborum significatu quae supersunt cum
Pauli Epitome, Thewrewkianis copiis usus edidit WALLACE M.
LINDSAY. Leipzig: Teubner, 1912. M. 12.

This volume, which is to be followed by a second, gives the complete text of what remains of Festus and of the epitome of Paulus. The former is based for the most part on the codex Farnesianus, but in part also on suggestions derived from the excerpts of Paulus and from conjecture. No attempt is made to give a reproduction of the pages of the codex, as in the edition of Müller and Thewrewk, although each line begins and ends with the same letters as in the manuscript. The paging of Müller and Thewrewk is given in the margin. The result is a sufficiently conservative text, conveniently arranged, with a full critical apparatus. A brief preface gives a very clear account of the history of the codex Farnesianus, of the copies of the lost quaternions (VIII, X, and XVI), of the manuscripts of Paulus which are used, and of the editions. There is a full Index of Latin, Greek, and dialectic words, and an Index Scriptorum. This will undoubtedly be our standard text of Festus for many years to come.

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